

KO E TALA-TUKUFAKAHOLO ‘O TONGA:

An Alter-Native Holistic Historiography of Tonga history from their own traditional oral culture and through their own people’s eyes.¹

A thesis

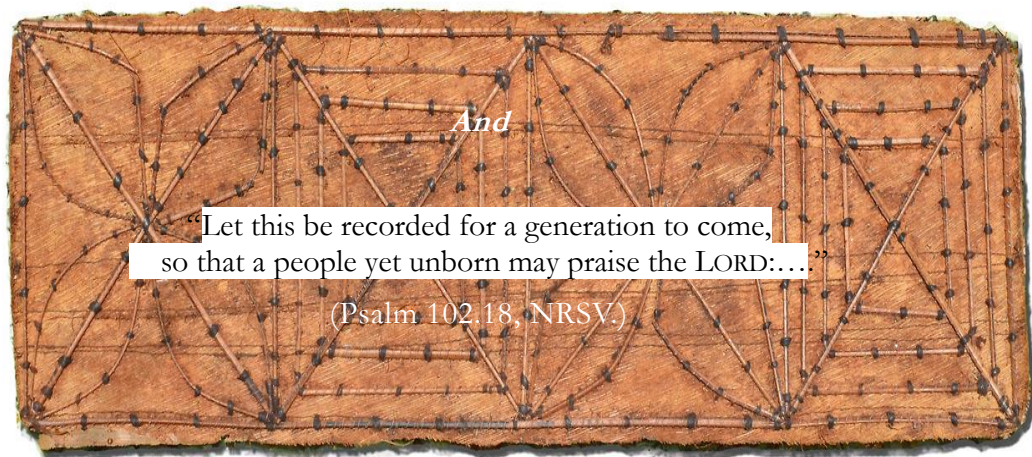
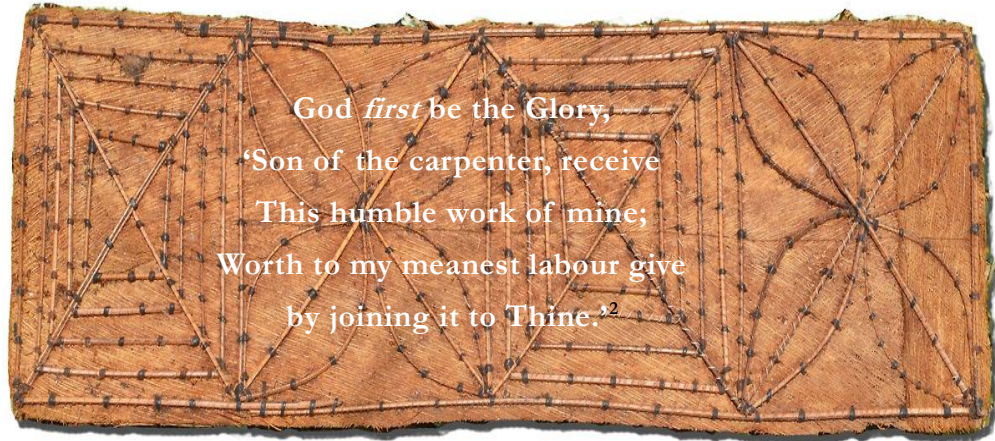
**re-submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New
Zealand.**

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¹ This title re-defines History and re-views historiography in the logic and philosophy encapsulated in the Tongan term *TALA-TUKUFAKAHOLO* meaning *Historio-arts-and-crafting; Historio-graphing; and Historio-grafting* of social realities in holistic terms to suggest an alter-native historiography of Tongan (national) history from their stories, tradition, culture, genealogies, *Tala-e-fonua* and through people’s perspective.

Dedication



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To my father *Tevita (Haveatuli) Latu* and my mother *'Anapapa Lolomani Latu*; to my *ongo matu'a Kavafusi Taniela Mabe Liava'a* and *Polopolomo'ufitunu*, who walked on in life during the course of the writing of this thesis; their words and love framed my views on Tonga History, and greatly inspired my heart to achieve this work as my tribute to God and Tonga.

² Adapted from C.M Churchward, "Introduction," in *Tongan Dictionary (Tongan-English, and English-Tongan)*, ed. C.M Churchward (Tonga: Government printing Press, 1959). xi.

³ These Kupesi - designs of *Tokelau Feletoa* (p.1) and *Fata 'o Tu'i Tonga* (p.2) were the creative artistic designs of Tongan women purposely for ngatu patterning. The designs point to some indigenous inventions and skills with great intelligence. I have borrowed these kupesi designs with acknowledgement from George Dunkley website titled Coconut codes: Decoding the Visual language of Tongan Tapa Cloth. Source: <http://coconutcodes.tumblr.com/post/46207069254/these-are-just-a-couple-of-the-old-kupesi-that-lua> (accessed 14/07/14).

Abstract:

I begin with a quote from the book by Hawaiian scholar Robert Borofsky titled; *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History* (2000), an interview of the Middle-Eastern scholar Edward Said (ES) by Robert Borofsky (RB) titled; “Postcolonial” Politics-A View from afar (Middle-east);

R.B: Some scholars suggest people in the Third World have tended to construct their social identities around Western notions of nationhood and, as a result, have become entwined within Western hegemonic frameworks even when opposing them.

E.S: I am not sure I agree with that....It is another example of the West imposing itself on others. Or take the question of whether or not people have a history. Everybody has a history. I would say to be human is to have and to make history. That is what distinguishes us from animals.⁴

Are we truly colonized in terms of history and historiography? Is that even possible? Is our way of doing history being censored and controlled? Is our oral way of historiography being prohibited and forbidden? Or, rather as in (ES) words, is the Tongan situation an example of the West imposing itself upon us? Or are we not given the autonomy to present our history via our own traditional historiography and through our people's eyes, independent of Western hegemony? This thesis aspires to present Tonga history in an alter-native *Tala-Tukufakaholo* historiography as a response to Ian Campbell's claim that “Tongan historiography shows a state of intellectual dependence that might also be called colonial...” meaning – “a territory of the mind is being colonized and controlled.”⁵

This thesis suggests the *Tala-Tukufakaholo* concept, as a holistic alter-native framework, presents our history through our own eyes fundamentally, to complement the conventional.

This complementation of the conventional also challenges a move to shift from debating the colonial climate of the field into a more holistic approach that will embrace all the colonized, the marginalized and the broken-hearted.⁶ It attempts a response to Campbell's

⁴ Robert Borofsky, “Post Colonial Politics - a View from Afar (Middle East)-an Interview with Edward Said,” in *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History*, ed. R Borofsky(Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000). 445-446.

⁵ Ian C Campbell, “A History Policy for Tonga,” in *Tonga - Land, Sea and People*, ed. Tangikina Moimoi Steen and Nancy L Drescher(Nuku'alofa: Tonga Research Association, 2011). 30.

⁶ This statement is to be understood in the context of the Colonizers, Imperialists and the globalization development.

assertion by following the Tongan scholar Ana Maui Taufē'ulungaki's aspiration to have "Tongans writing Tonga history as seen through the eyes of Tongans themselves."⁷ While all history is either evolutionary or accidental events,⁸ this thesis hopes to prepare Tongans to view life, history and historiography as an evolutionary *Tala-Tukufakabolo* – a traditional holistic framework. Being part of a "moaning and groaning" generation because of colonization, it aspires that we pass on to the next generation something positive, that will lead them away from colonial thoughts to live and view life in a more holistic way. And as the Psalmist says; "Let this be recorded for a generation to come, so that a people yet unborn may praise the LORD...."⁹

⁷ Cited in Campbell, "A History Policy for Tonga." from Taufē'ulungaki's Book Reviews published in *Matangi Tonga* 5 (2), (March-April, 1990); 44).

⁸ C.H Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments: Three Lectures with a N Appendix on Eschatology and History* (London Hodder and Stoughton Limited 1950). 95.

⁹ Psalm 102.18, (NRSV).

Acknowledgement:

Fakafeta'i!

Fakafeta'i ki he 'Otua! 'Oku pehe 'e he Saame, "Ko Sihova 'a hoku maama mo hoku fakamo'ui; te u manavahe kia hai? Ko Sihova 'a e kolo 'o 'eku mo'ui; ko hai te u teteki ki ai? (27.1, TMB).

'Oku ou fakafeta'i to mu'a ki he Kelesi taumama'o 'a e 'Eiki Ko Sisu Kalaisi' 'i he 'ene taulama 'a e hala fononga na'e fai ai 'ete toli he katokakala 'o 'ono'abo' mo e kuonga mu'a 'o Tonga', 'a ia ne te 'ahi'ahi ke tui 'ete fakalokua' ni na'a fe'unga ke luvu¹⁰ ko ha'aku fakafeta'i ki he 'Otua Mafimafi – 'i he'ene 'Ofa labi kuo' te lave ai' ni. 'Oku va'a kau nabu ai foki 'a 'eku fakamalo tu'a ki he Hou'eiki mo e kakai kotoa pe ne mou 'ofa mai 'aki ha Lotu, ha 'ilo, ha poto, ha founga, ha pa'anga mo e nofo'anga: 'isa na'a 'ape ko e lea 'ofa pe, 'one feau e faingata'a 'o e fononga mo e fekumi tokotaba' ni. 'Oku kei kinokioniofie pe 'a e 'Ofa Labi 'a e 'Otua ia mo 'Ene Poto mo'onia 'i he tataki 'o e halafononga 'o e mo'ui.

While I endeavoured to argue the *Tala-Tukufakabolo – oral concept as artistic grafting framework* for Tongans and non-Tongan views, thoughts, and ideas in historiographical terms in this thesis, a sort of grafting process happened to me physically.

I am thankful to all staff at both Middlemore and Auckland hospitals and to my doctor Mr. Peter Raudkivi for successfully operating on my sickened body, on 09 August, 2013. Dr. Raudkivi's successful grafting operation enabled me to complete this study.

I am under great obligation for the insightful advice and vicarious supervision that my supervisors; Associate Professor Malakai Koloamatangi, Director Pasifika, Pasifika Directorate at Massey University (MU), Albany Campus, Auckland and Associate Professor Lyndon Fraser Director of Pacific Studies, History Department of the University of Canterbury (UC), Christchurch offered to guide my own thoughts to present in this thesis study. I also appreciate the help of Directorate of Pasifika@MU for the space at Albany campus afforded me to write the thesis. I thank Fr. Gareth Simon Grainger of St Thomas Church, Melbourne, Dr. Ruth Toumu'a, USP Tonga and Manase Lua for the insightful discussions we have had on Tonga history and genealogies relating to the topic, and for proof reading this thesis.

'Oku ou matu'aki fakamalo loto houna mo'oni ki he Palesiteni Dr. Sini Lea, Rev. Kiopeti Mahina mo e kau faifekau, kau setuata mo e kakai 'o e siasi Fakatabataba, NZ (UCT-NZ) 'i he ngaahi tokoni fakapa'anga kotoa pe na'e fai kiate au 'o lava ai e ako ni. 'Oku houna ho'omou 'ofa pea tauange ke monu'ia e ngaue kotoa pe 'a e siasi. Fakamalo he 'ofa mo e tokoni 'a e famili; Uesile mo RIP Melenaita, Mosese mo Salote, Siketi mo 'Ahea Kemoe'atu mo e famili, Sela Pomelile, Meleana, Tupou mo e siasi Gisborne, Lesieli mo Pauta Tongati'o, Solo mo Fololeni Liku, Maka mo Pauline, Valamotu Palu mo Lameisi, Setaita Latu, Susana Semisi, 'Alipeti, mo Sanitesi Latu, mei Melipoane, Josaia Latu, mo 'Evaloni, kia Lani mo Keleti Filiiai, 'Oliva mo 'Ana Fetokai. Fakamalo ki he 'ofa mo e tokoni na'e fai 'e Saminela Ma'u mo Lepolo, 'Ana Siarisi Corrigan, Simione mo 'Ana Lomu, Lisiate, Taufu mo Indira Holani, pea kia Siosina, Vikatabi, Siniva, Tryphaena, and Nebama Ma'u ki Hornby, Christchurch malo si'omou lotu mo e 'ofa foki. Keni Latu, 'Akana mo 'Aikona, Niuselu mo Hu'akau Finau, Kalikula mo Mosiana, mo e 'Kalapu Mate au mo'ui koe' 'Okalani, Malo ho'omou 'ofa mo e lotu foki.

Koliniusi Sikipio; Lupe mo Siosifa Ma'u; Finau Loloma Hufanga; Sione mo Fane, 'Ilaise, Felicia, Anna, Christine mo Courtney Rimer, RIP Sailine Tabitoto mo Jodie, Lee, 'Ana, Sailine, mo Judean Latu malo e 'ofa.

Si'oto 'ofa ki boku uai fi 'ofa'anga Susana Ninfo'ou Liava'a Latu 'oku ou fakamalo atu 'aupito kiate koe 'i he 'ofa mo e tou'anga pea tauhi foki mo si'eta fanau; 'Alisi Puipui-ki he-Toa 'Uluakimano mo Kepueli Hanisi, Paulos Lotei Malevi, Taniela Mabe Piko-Ki-Vaka, 'Anapapa Mo'ui-he-'Ofa Fuifui Pule'anga, Josiella Hyna-'i-'Afitu mo Pouvalu Tupou Latu – malo si'omou lotu mo e kataki foki. To, mo'oni pe 'a e Taulama 'a e Hepelu; "Na'e fakakongokonga mo anga kebekehe 'a e fai mu'a 'e he 'Otua 'ene Folofola ki he kau matu'a 'i ha kau Palofita, ka 'i he faka'osi 'o ono'abo, na'a ne folofola mai 'i ha 'alo,...." (Hepelu 1:1-2a). May you all be blessed.

¹⁰ Konai Helu Thaman, "In the Footsteps of a Male Mother," in *Polynesian Paradox: Essays in Honour of Futa Helu*, ed. I C Campbell and Eve Coxon (Suva University of the South Pacific, 2005). 34.

Map of the Kingdom of Tonga.

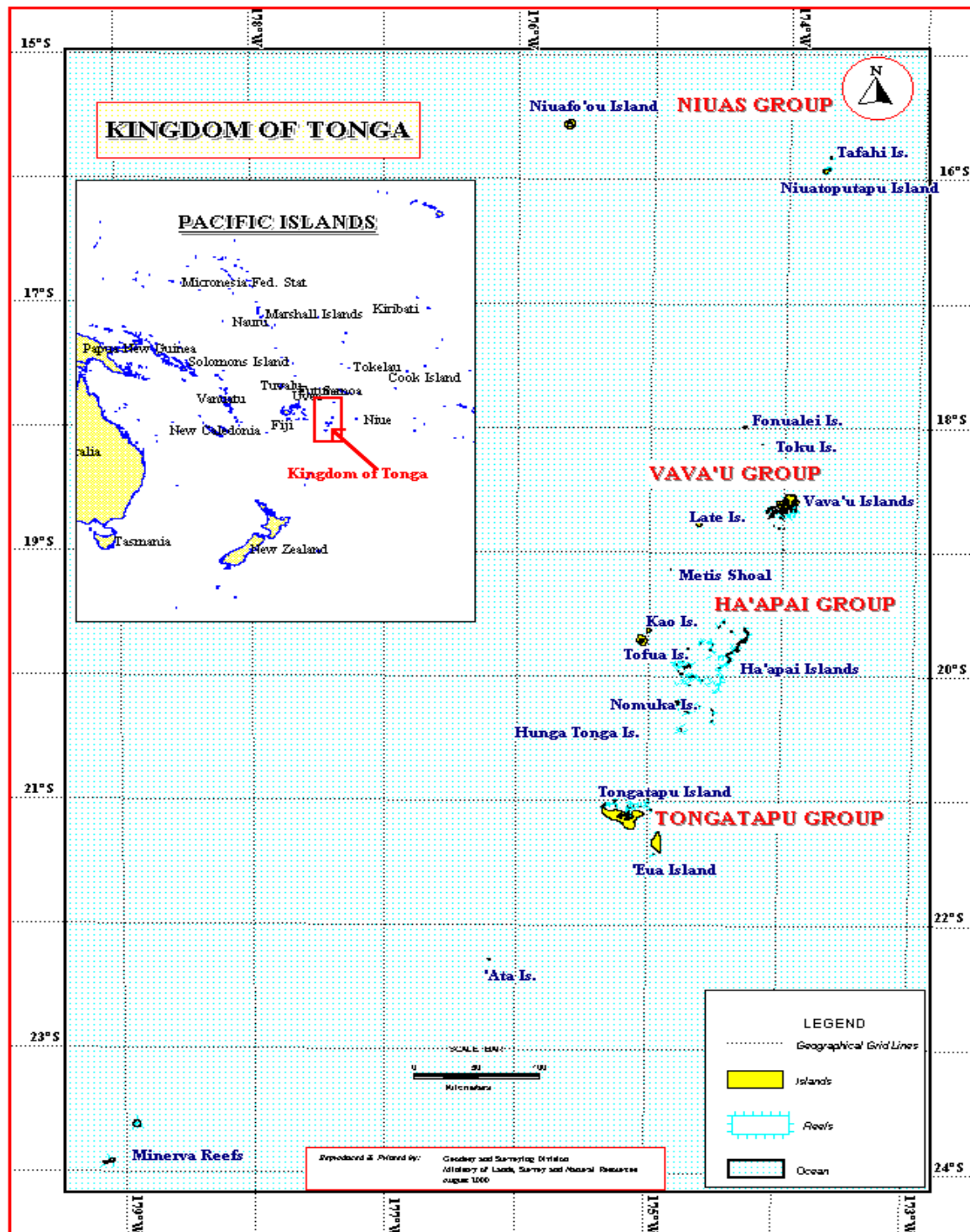


Figure 1: Map of the Kingdom of Tonga (GIS, Ministry of Lands, Survey and Natural Resources, Nuku'alofa, Tonga)

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Introduction

As I began to rewrite this thesis, I remember the story of about how Perpetua wove the veil for her next wedding – she wove during the day and undid it during the night because of her love for her husband who went to war and never returned. I, like Perpetua, graft this thesis during the day, and unravel it in the night; I was tossed to and fro by two things; (i). I hold great respect, honour and love for my ancestors who died while facing the Western hegemony, but are the owners and custodians of the Tala-Tukufakaholo history and historiography of Tonga and the land where it was created. Considering the drought in the field (Campbell), I do not know whether they wanted us, the later generations to document it in this way, or rather leave them in oral form. (ii). I am perplexed due to the dictates of the Western demands for doing history, that this is the right thing for me to do. However, I am only consoled by the knowledge that I do this for one reason; as Psalmist says, “Let this be recorded for a generation to come, so that a people yet unborn may praise the LORD....” (Ps.102.18, NRSV.)

This introduction begins with the statement of problem and the purpose of this *Tala-Tukufakaholo* (TTF)¹¹ study in the context of traditional Tongan Ha’a Tu’i with its hierarchical Tapu culture and in the rationale of the asserted colonial situation in terms of history and historiography as suggested by Ian Campbell. It offers a brief review of the literature pertaining to the studied topic and states the main (research) question the study is addressing; “is it possible that we are truly colonized in terms of history?” or rather, “Do we have a Tongan perspective of historiography and a history on our own, through our own lens and views, independent of the foreign led views of Tongan history?” It also offers a brief statement of the study methodology including the study’s conceptual framework. For this purpose, I employ a diagram about the matrix of *Tala-Tukufakaholo*, with a brief summary of the main findings and conclusions and possible implications of these including, for Tongan education. The thesis will be summed up with a suggestion of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* as (TTF) - holistic Oralectic framework of *historio-art and crafting, historio-graphing and historio-grafting* strategic values of Tongan oral historiography; a possible model of pedagogy of teaching and learning Tongan history as an alternative. Finally, a brief organization in chapters of the thesis on Table of Content concludes the introduction.

The Tonga Government and Ministry of Education has no policy nor does it advocate or promote to boost Tongan peoples and particularly its younger generation’s, interest in

¹¹ The Term *Tala-Tukufakaholo* in short will used TTF as its abbreviation and it stands for Tala (T)-Tukufakaholo(T) Framework(F).

studying Tonga History and Historiography. This problem in Tonga has been raised by Pacific historian Ian C. Campbell who highlighted a drought in the field of Tonga History and Historiography studies. The drought is also supported by the former minister of Tonga Ministry of Education, 'Ana Maui Taufe'ulungaki. Campbell stated; that "only one Tongan has published major studies of Tongan history, and only two others have completed a dissertation for higher degree in history."¹² Moreover, he concluded that "a quick glance at Tongan historiography shows a state of intellectual dependence that might also be called colonial: most writers [by way of documentation] of Tonga history...are not Tongans either by nationality or ancestry...."¹³ That conclusion posed two obvious facts: the field had been colonized by foreigners; and Tongans "rely on the knowledge discovered, assembled and published by foreigners," (in Campbell's words) about Tonga and also depend on the intellect of the outsiders to tell them who they are, and what, in terms of history and historiography. Thus, dependence is the key problem here. However, Tongan scholar Epeli Hau'ofa stated the following with regards to the Tongan situation; "We cannot continue to rely heavily on others to do it for us because autonomy cannot be attained through dependence."¹⁴ Dependence is the key feature of the colonial climate that has caused the stated "drought" of Tongan scholarship by Tongans in the field. Are Tongans frustrated at this colonial situation? Are they making their own oral history? Are they ignorant? Or, all of the above?

Based on the above, the main (research) question the study is addressing; "is it possible that we are truly colonized in terms of history?" or rather, "Do we have a Tongan perspective of historiography and a history on our own, through our own lens and views, independent of the foreign led views of Tongan history? To do that another Pacific historian Niel Gunson of ANU on his "Tongan Historiography: Shamanic Views of Time and History" suggested that "any discussion of Tongan [history and] historiography should begin with sources."¹⁵ Gunson listed five categories of sources: the "undocumented but very influential living traditions"; "the dead

¹² Campbell, "A History Policy for Tonga." 30.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Epeli Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember," in *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History*, ed. Robert Borofsky (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000). 454.

¹⁵ Niel Gunson, "Tongan Historiography: Shamanic Views of Time and History," in *Tongan Culture and History: Papers from the 1st Tongan History Conference Held in Canberra 14-17 January, 1987*, ed. Phyllis Herda, Jenniffer Terrell, and Niel Gunson (Canberra: The Journal of Pacific History inc. in collaboration with Target Oceania, 1996). 13.

traditions”; “the genealogies”; the “primary and written documents”; and the “secondary written documents.” These sources will be employed in this thesis to draw evidences to support the stated argument. Moreover, the *corpus logus* associated with the living Tongan community, genealogies, Tala-e-fonua and cultural evidences will be interpreted and used as artefacts to support the argument of the thesis. It reviews the evidences from above sources in the light of the assumption that History is *His and Her story* from people’s perspective.

This thesis agrees in full with Campbell’s assertion “Tongan historiography shows a state of intellectual dependence that might also be called colonial.” In response, this work advocates an alter-native view of history and historiography through the *Tala-Tukufakabolo* (TTF) concept – an overarching framework suggesting a holistic re-view of our history independent of the outsiders, but where the outsiders and insiders’ views may complement each other. It embraces the statement of the well-known scholar Edward Said, who stated “Everybody has a history. I would say to be human is to have and to make history. That is what distinguishes us from animals.”¹⁶ On rethinking Pacific historiography, Tongan scholar Epeli Hau’ofa in his “Epilogue” stated; “The point at issue here is whether there are legitimate histories apart from mainline history. If there are, and I believe that there are, then our histories are as old as our remembered pasts.”¹⁷

It attempts to follow Tongan Scholar ‘Ana Maui Taufe’ulungaki’s suggestion for an “alternative”¹⁸ and for a re-view of Tonga history and historiography. She aspired “I would like to see more Tongan scholars writing Tongan history as seen through the eyes of Tongan themselves” and lenses.¹⁹ From an appreciative researcher’s viewpoint it suggests the concept of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as being Tongan history itself (ontology), and the source of historiographic knowledge (epistemology). It also posits a re-view of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as Tongan history in Konai Helu Thaman’s definition of ‘Pacific Education’ as “introduction to worthwhile learning” and

¹⁶ Borofsky, ""Post Colonial Politics - a View from Afar (Middle East)-an Interview with Edward Said." (2000), 446.

¹⁷ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember." (200), 458.

¹⁸ 'Ana Maui Taufe'ulungaki, "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?," in *Tree of Opportunity: Rethinking Pacific Education*, ed. Cliff Benson(The University of South Pacific: The Institute o f Education, 2002). 5.

¹⁹ Cited in Campbell, "A History Policy for Tonga." (2011), 31.

‘schooling’ and uses her terms of ‘formal’, ‘non-formal’ and ‘informal’²⁰ in my own definitions. I also refer to the method which Tongan scholar Nasili Vaka’uta advocated as “alter-native”²¹ for reading the Bible from a contextual viewpoint. While the foreigners are independent to produce their versions of *what as* “us” and *what as* “ours”, this thesis seeks redress to allow us space to present our views and our own versions of *what is* “us” and *what is* “ours” through our own eyes, beliefs and ways of life. In the end, the *what as* foreigner’s views and the *what is* Tongan views should be complementary, to make the whole – a holistic over-arching framework that encapsulates the three main eras of life which I suggest as the *Art and Crafting: the Scienitific Graphing* and the *Grafting for hybridzation* eras.²²

I refer this point of my argument about eras of historiographic development to my personal life development as an individual. It began from: an “oral-based” free thinking child environment with *artistic crafting* of realities – a period of worthwhile “non-formal”²³ learning from nature, environment and people’s life, and a “home based” learning as informed by parents as instructors at home. This, in turn leads to a formal informed “School-based,” organized and institutionalized. I am, here borrowing and building on, from Thaman’s definition of education as “an introduction to worthwhile learning’ and ‘schooling”, and, also from Taufē’ulungaki’s comment; “while Pacific traditional education is also ‘worthwhile learning’, it is largely informal, contextualized, task-specific, practical, interactive, inter-personal and life-long.”²⁴ This aspect of formal learning is based upon written sources and critically informed medium of systematized learning and disciplined of *graphing* realities on one’s brain, body and characters. The individual journey is led from its insular point of non-formal and informal learning to the global arena where various conventions and contentions in different forms converged and challenge one’s life towards an organized and institutionalized formal leaning. The whole development of non-formal, informal and formal learning development, is actually, in my view of historiography, comprised a period of

²⁰ Konai Helu Thaman, "Towards Cultural Democracy in Pacific Education: An Imperative for the 21st Century," in *Tree of Opportunity: Re-Thinking Pacific Education*, ed. Cliff Benson(Suva: The University of the South Pacific Institute of Education, 2002). 23.

²¹ Nasili Vaka'uta, "*Talanga: A Tongan Mode of Interpretation*," in *Talanoa Ripples: Across Borders, Cultures, Disciplines...* ed. Jione Havea(Massey University: Directorate of Pasifika@Massey, 2010). 149.

²² I refer this point of my argument about eras of historiographic development to my individual person’s life development.

²³ Thaman, "Towards Cultural Democracy in Pacific Education: An Imperative for the 21st Century." (2002), 23. Taufē'ulungaki, "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?." (2002), 5.

²⁴ "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?." 5.

a deeper formal *grafting* and empirical merging of realities of the past-present, old and new, outward and inward values, now and beyond, and the temporal and spiritual realities on one's personal learning experiences. That graft, in my view, is one's *graffiti*²⁵ of wisdom and knowledge, he or she may suggest as contribution to the world education and life as a whole. For this purpose of historiography, is a holistic contribution to the whole global *Tala-Tukufakaholo – corpus logus* the global source of wisdom.

Based on the above view, *Tala-Tukufakaholo* (TTF) concept is here suggested as a community people's (Tongan) lens/and holistic framework which advocates a grafting of the indigenous arts and crafting, graphing and grafting strategy in indigenous terms to complement - the colonial modernistic and scientific rational views of the foreigners about Tonga history and historiography. *Grafting* is a biblical term borrowed by the apostle Paul from horticultural practice in Palestine at the time.²⁶ It is seen here as a way of merging realities; the embedding and re-connecting of the old and new, the past and present, the insiders and outsiders, the alter-native and the conventional, all to make a holistic view for the better. It tries, as much as possible to maintain an objective view to bring out the inside-ness of the reality, but never in any way to support the *status quo*, nor to claim orality in its own. It presents the reality, as is viewed from an inside lens, a community pragmatic based people's view for a complement. Appreciatively, for ethical consideration, it envisaged to do justice to the ancestors who are owners and custodians of the TTF holistic reality and framework and to by-pass the talk on colonization into a healthier-re-connecting to supernatural values, a more positive ground of holism, to offer to the future generations.

It also argues that the Tongan government should develop a policy to encourage a shift of viewpoints from the conventional to the alter-native, for Tongans to see another way forward

²⁵ I am using this term *graffiti* in historiography in positive sense. I derived it from my usage of the term graft – as implantation of a scion upon a rootstock to produce a hybrid for the better. In the same way am using *Tala-Tukufakaholo* as my *graffiti* of historiography in holistic term for the better. It calls for a moving on from moaning and groaning on colonization to a better point of engagement with the global world.

²⁶ See Roman 11.¹⁷ But if some of the branches were broken off, and you, a wild olive shoot, were *grafted* in their place to share the rich root^[f] of the olive tree, ¹⁸ do not boast over the branches. If you do boast, remember that it is not you that support the root, but the root that supports you. ¹⁹ You will say, "Branches were broken off so that I might be *grafted* in." ²⁰ That is true. They were broken off because of their unbelief, but you stand only through faith. So do not become proud, but stand in awe. ²¹ For if God did not spare the natural branches, perhaps he will not spare you.^[g] ²² Note then the kindness and the severity of God: severity toward those who have fallen, but God's kindness toward you, provided you continue in his kindness; otherwise you also will be cut off. ²³ And even those of Israel,^[h] if they do not persist in unbelief, will be grafted in, for God has the power to *graft* them in again. ²⁴ For if you have been cut from what is by nature a wild olive tree and grafted, contrary to nature, into a cultivated olive tree, how much more will these natural branches be *grafted* back into their own olive tree. (Roman 11.17-24. NRSV).

from colonialism to holism. Tongan students should be made aware of Vaka'uta's assertion for the "alter-native" and be encouraged to move on and explore Tonga's rich field of history and historiography. As the Psalm says; "Let this be recorded for a generation to come..."²⁷

The central proposal underpinning this thesis argues that younger generation and school students/if not the Pacific, should *understand* their *Tala-Tukufakabolo* - Tongan oral history. They should be able to *write* their history from, as their *sources* of knowledge for historiography (graphing of history) from their own contextual viewpoints and cultural logic perspectives. This statement is made in light of the present colonial context that Tongan history had always been thought in Western ideological strategy, and presented in Western mode and the English language foreign to the people under study.²⁸ The majority of works written about history of Tonga today are dictated by the system of education to be based entirely on documented sources in order to be accepted as history. In such way, as Thaman stated, in reference to education in the Pacific, the "school system would be seen as having failed the students rather than the students having failed."²⁹ I am only writing this thesis in English because of the requirement for this academic study, otherwise, it would be written in Tongan and presented in Tongan way of historiography. Observe how history is pragmatically lived and practically manifested in state occasions or Tongan funerals, wedding or celebrations, the associated dances, songs, chants, lullaby and cultural performances are all making history. From historiographic viewpoint, the past social realities are formally re-lived and presented as stories of life. In such way, *Tala-Tukufakabolo* is enriched, day by day, as we moved on in life.

TTF is a *Kainangae fonua* view, - a down to earth view. Differently, from Ha'a Tu'i Words-based theo-cosmological views, and the Hou'eiki – the ethno-graphic ethical view from the land based-tradition. Rather, being a *Kainangae fonua* myself, I take this as my views and is here taken as re-views of Tongan history and historiography as a reality from a down to earth insider journey in life. It is essential that in order for a holistic and meaningful-engagements in living and if studying and re-creating genuine Tongan history is to be realised. Any dialogue for re-presentation of Tonga history and historiography in the future should be made from an insider independent position and

²⁷ Ps.102.18a. (NRSV).

²⁸ I suggest that works of history in this academic level should be wholly done in Tongan language (or any other vernacular) before they are translated to English language to contain its integrity in indigenous Tongan cultural logical thinking and lens independent of the foreign language and ideology, before it is submitted. However, I still believe the translated version will not be the exact reality in the vernacular language. I also believe, there are enough Tongan scholars in the field who possess proper qualifications and with deeper experiences of Tongan history and culture can objectively examine such works with justice and give them their due.

²⁹ Thaman, "Towards Cultural Democracy in Pacific Education: An Imperative for the 21st Century." (2002), 23.

not from the present dependent and colonial climate. Though, this thesis may appraise the present colonial situation of the field to some degree, it does not aim to downplay its contribution in any way. Rather it raises the awareness of the prevailing colonial regime and the current “drought” in the field which seems to be caused by the natives’ confusion of the situation and challenge them more to live and make history before theorising and documentation. Nevertheless, it also looks at alternative ways for improving school students’ achievements, including women and children because history in terms of *His- and Her-story*³⁰ involves all generations of society and not only a minority such as the educated elite or the upper classes.

The context of my argument, is life as a whole. Viewing history in the context of a whole-of-life framework tells us that history is a whole-of-life story of men and women received from the originator of life and passed down from ancestors to later generations successively.³¹ Documentation of social realities was later invented. Samuel Noah Kramer et al on *Cradle of Civilization* stated;

Here, some 5000 years ago, a people known as the Sumerians developed the world’s earliest true civilization from roots extending far back into the dimness of prehistory.... Perhaps more important, it was in Mesopotamia’s early cities that a practical system of writing was first invented and developed, bringing about a revolution in communications that had far-reaching effects on man’s economic, intellectual and cultural progress. Ideas, techniques and inventions originated by the Sumerians and nurtured by later Mesopotamian peoples-the Babylonians, Assyrians and others-were diffused east and west to leave their mark on practically all the cultures of antiquity and even on those of our own day.³²

That is after millions of years when previous generations orally informed the latter of the global social realities. H.M. Queen Salote defines Tongan historiography in *Tala-Tukufakaholo* framework as the way these stories were orally passed down through the ages.

Ko e Tala na’e ‘ikai hano tohi, ka e kei Tukufakaholo mei he ngutu ki he telinga, mei he matu’a ki he fanau. (Queen Salote Tupou III).³³ [Their

³⁰ Fangailupe Tukutau (tutor in history at STC. Tonga) defines history as “his & her -story”.

³¹ I am envisioning here the pragmatic definition of Education by the USA scholar John Dewey who says; “Education is Life itself.” See <http://www.wilderdom.com/experiential/JohnDeweyPhilosophyEducation.html> (accessed 21.01.2017).

³² Samuel Noah Kramer and The Editors of the TIME-LIFE BOOKS, *Great Ages of Man Cradle of Civilization: A History of the World's Cultures* ed. Leonard Krieger, John Higham, and Felix Gilbert, Time-Life Books (Nederland N.V Time-Life International, 1969). 11.

³³ Queen Salote Tupou III, *Ko e Ngaahi Tohi ‘a ‘Ene ‘Afio, 1958-59*, (The Writings of Queen Salote), T.S Copies in Palace Office Pangai, (P.O.P) Nuku’alofa, Tonga.

chronicles/narratives³⁴ were not documented on [paper] or [in] books but were passed down from mouth[s] to ear[s], by fathers to their children.
(translation – author)]

In almost the same decade and the next, when Queen Salote in Tonga documented the above definition of *Tala-Tukufakaholo*, (1957-8), British historian W. Collingwood in *The Idea of History*, concluded as “form of thought” in 1961).³⁵ Another British historian E.E.H. Carr, in his work *What is History?* concluded that “history” depicts the “historians dialogue with facts of history.”³⁶ This *Tala*-word-based method of *Tukufakaholo*-passing down information was a “form of thought” of the ancestral community and was successively passed down from immemorial time to the latter in words of mouth of fathers to ears and the sons and daughters lived it as “a way of life.” It may as well include inscriptions, engraving and embodiments of realities in matters, items and objects, and may as well be inferred from Queen Salote’s statement above.

Referring to life in particular, *Tala-Tukufakaholo* as a ‘form of thought’ is lived as a “way of life” in an individual person’s life. I refer to my whole life journey in a pragmatic way as *Tala-Tukufakaholo* itself – a *Tala* is being genetically passed down through the processes of regenerations. Through hybridity, I am now, a piece of the word and blood of the past ancestors by regeneration. The land where I was non-formally raised by my ancestral roots with love supports the morally informed advice of my parents and family, and the formal educational institutions and instructors, have moulded my life to this point to write this thesis. I also make a re-view of the available literature in light of the thesis question: “is it possible that we are truly colonized in terms of history?” Or rather; “Do we have a history on our own through our own lens and views, independent of the foreign led views of Tongan history and historiography? Thus, my purpose is to suggest *Tala-Tukufakaholo* from ancestral community as the overarching framework that best encapsulates Tongans history and historiography. This is important for two reasons; first, for many years, we Tongans, though never politically colonized, were in actual fact as Campbell suggested, “intellectually dependent” on others. Hau’ofa stated; “.... autonomy cannot be attained through dependence.”³⁷ For almost two centuries now, we have learnt about *who we are* and *what we are* from

³⁴ *Tala-Tukufakaholo* chronicle or narrative, an amalgamation of the whole may be related to what is claimed as meta-narrative.

³⁵ R.G Collingwood, *The Idea of History*(London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

³⁶ E.H Carr, *What Is History?: The George Macaulay Trevelyan Lecture Delivered in the University of Cambridge, January - March 1961*(England: Penguin Books, 1967 (rep.)).

³⁷ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Past to Remember." (2000), 454.

the viewpoints of the outsiders. Second, the concept *Tala-Tukufakabolo* itself is borrowed from the indigenous past and argued as being the *logus corpus* of knowledge (ontology) of Tonga history and sources of knowledge (epistemology) for historiography.

The philosophy con-joined within *Tala-Tukufakabolo* is a spiral. *Tala-Tukufakabolo* will be reviewed in the context of Scottish historian David Bebbington's five philosophies of history, outlined in his work *Patterns in History*; "Cyclical", "Christian Lineal," "Idea of progress," "Historicism," and "Marxism."³⁸ After reviewing the five patterns of philosophies of history, "Spiral" is suggested as the Philosophy of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* framework. In Tonga's double-dynamic situation, it sees history as in Bebbington's states, as "revolving wheels"³⁹ as in the west and the east. For the Tongan situation, the Oral and Conventional wheels are both revolving upon their own courses, though the latter has always been neglected and labelled as being unscientific, fragmented and unreliable. Thus, this thesis aims to bring the two together in a complementary way.

The method of case presentation and studies are drawn from the Word-based, Land-based and Human-culture-based traditional and indigenous literature to illustrate the stated argument. It seeks to appreciatively and complementarily assert that history is subject to the people of the land (both ancestral and the community under study) and future generations. This *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as a method of accounting is in line with the suggestion by Taufe'ulungaki for Tongans to study and to present Tonga history through "the eyes of Tongans themselves" and from their lenses.⁴⁰

As an alternative method, I acknowledged the Professor Konai Helu Thaman's *Kakala*-Research Framework (KRF) which other Tongan scholars like Ana Koloto (2000), and Johansson Fua (2006), Taufe'ulungaki and Johansson-Fua, (2009), Vaioleti (2011),⁴¹ have also acknowledged in terms of *Toli*, *Tui* and *Luva*. I re-view the *Kakala* in historiographic terms; the *fine langa toli* – experienced women of the village who can *Toli* - select and pick appropriate flowers from vast varieties of ornaments at the *Kolokakala*⁴² garden of the *Kakala Tu'u fonua* – native's ornaments.,

³⁸ David Bebbington, *Patterns in History: A Christian Perspective on Historical Thought*(Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1990).

³⁹ Ibid. ix.

⁴⁰ Cited in Campbell, "A History Policy for Tonga." (2011).

⁴¹ Timote Masima Vaioleti, "'Talanoa, Manulua and Founa Ako: Frameworks for Using, Enduring Tongan Educational Ideas for Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand," (University of Waikato, 2011).

⁴² This tradition is from Mu'a, old capital and the Kolokakala-center of ornaments of Tonga, the seat of the Old Dynastic rulers – Kauhala'uta of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga and Takalaua lineages.

The specific flowers to be picked are dictated by the social purpose the *Kakala* is made for. A *Papai Fa'onelua*,⁴³ for example, is only made to be presented to the Tu'i Himself. From a STC history class tour of heritage places of Tonga in 2001, we witness the Fa'onelua plant at Mu'a. A special *Tongo-mangrove* plant sp. named Fa'onelua – 'Fa pours out fragrance' was and can be found at the *Fanga'uta*-coastal bay of Lapaha, Mu'a, Tongatapu. Its green bean-flowers are called *Fa*, which are *toli* – picked, and *Tui*-put together on a strand to form a *Papai* – *Kakala*, known as *PAPAI FA'ONELUA*, peculiarly made from Mu'a – chiefly residence, and old capital of Tonga. The *Fa* does not produce a fragrance until it is *Mili* – rubbed with both hands, and put upon the Tu'i Himself. This practice gives the Tongan term for *Famili* which is always used as Tonganisation of the English term Family. Symbolically, members of *Kainga* are being *mili* rubbed with social obligations so they can exert their energies on *fatongia*-social duties that honoured their Tu'i. *Tala-Tukufakabolo* of Lapaha told; this plant was originally from Fiji.

The selected 'facts of history' are determined by the history question they were to pursue. With those flowers the *fine langa toli* weave them into the garland, so as the researcher articulates his or her selected *facts of history* into the whole story articulation to perfect the required garland. When completed, after being *mili*-investigated and *mili*-searched and further observed as facts that produce fragrances relative to the occasion. They are, then ready to be *Luva* – presented as a garland for the occasion so as a researcher's present one's version of his or her own *Talanoa* – Story. This whole *Tala-Tukufakabolo* thesis is a TTF *Kakala* garland in the end which employs *Toli*, *Tui* and *Luva* procedures of *facts of history* as framework of historiography in its real sense to pursue its case. It is hoped that that this TTF *kakala* would contribute in a small way to the understanding of how indigenous knowledge are being grafted with scientific knowledge in holistic term to produce the best for the next generation.

Tala-Tukufakabolo as a title is rather long, thus, it also employs the method of *Ta-langa* – "cut and build" methodology. However, it acknowledges Nasili Vaka'uta's definition of "Ta-langa" for biblical study.⁴⁴ I use Ta-Langa as a way of first cutting and exposing the con-joined wisdom in the compound concept for articulating Tonga indigenous history and its specific representations in relation to the eras of history. The concept *Tala-Tukufakabolo* is "cut" and philosophically rationalized in the logic con-joined in its *Tala-Tuku*- and *fakabolo* tripartite format. *Tala* represents

⁴³ See a portrait of Papai Fa'onelua as worn by the 9th Ata Fisi'ihoi on the work of Sione Latukefu, "The Wesleyan Mission" in *Friendly Islands: A History of Tonga* ed. Noel Rutherford (Melbourne Oxford University Press 1977). 121.

⁴⁴ Vaka'uta, "*Talanga: A Tongan Mode of Interpretation.*" (2010), 153-4.

the Orally Artistic and Crafting era where it is associated with inscriptions, engraving, coining, statue, and all sorts of artistic crafting of *Tala*-wisdom, information and knowledge by the ancestral community of the immemorial past. On another level of interpretation, it sees *Tala* as a way of embodying blood and genetic transference through cohabitations of two unlike persons through the way of *Fanongonongo Tokoto* – conveying wisdom between persons at cohabitations. This way of human communication of wisdoms via persons creates blood links of the former to the latter and thus, how generations are built in a successive *Tala-Tukufakabolo* way. This Tongan way of passing down *Tala* as Words of wisdom and bloods carried genetical qualities that builds generation successively towards a hybridized entity generations later.

The second part *Tuku* represents the era of fixing, placing upon, to let go, dye or stained past stories, documenting wisdom and patterning knowledge of and stylistically and artistically coining of facts about life on persons, matters; parchments, objects and human culture. The central core of *tuku* is fixing and causing realities to rest upon something that may successive survive for the next generations.

The third part of the topic *Fakabolo* represents the era of re-creating social realities in the context of hybridization. The Tongan practice of *Moheofo* is taken in this thesis as way or re-creation of social realities. I have associated this term *Fakaholo* with the term Grafting – where realities are being merged to create anew.

The thesis will conclude with a summation of the *Tala*, *Tuku* and *Fakabolo* eras, as being a holistic re-view of Tonga history and the knowledge of historiography in an alter-native way most pertinent to its cultural re-generations. To do justice to our ancestors and the people under study and the people of the society today, this thesis is a tribute in respect to them and the generation who will pass on the *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as the knowledge of and about Tonga into the unknown future. I have anguished over and studied deeply into the *Tala-Tukufakabolo* concept for more than thirty years (of research, teaching and writings), and it has moulded my whole life and thinking. I wish to now present it as a holistic framework for the study of Tonga history and historiography. This endeavour is to benefit the future generations with *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as history proper, so that they may be better informed ontologically. Epistemologically, as a source of knowledge, it sees to benefit them as to how they can present Tonga history, as seen through their own eyes, and lens, and align it with their cultural ways of life, beliefs and aspirations.

The three case studies are suggested to illustrate the argument for *Tala-Tukufakabolo* (TTF) and the respective eras of historiographic developments. The story about the Bayeux Tapestry⁴⁵ is related here to the way *Tala-Tukufakabolo* dictates all generations to successively weave the culture, history and historiography of Tongan people's life, worldviews and practices. As H.M. Queen Salote suggested the definition of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* from Tongan indigenous history and historiography it means that, in my view, *Tala-Tukufakabolo* instructs every generation to weave Tonga history and akin to Queen Matilda's Bayeux Tapestry (embroidered) method of instructing her women to weave the Tapestry: the three cases studies will illustrate how *Tala-Tukufakabolo* (TTF) dictated and instructed the successive generations to weave the patterns of *art and crafting, graphing and grafting* upon the *Ngatu o Tangata mo Fefine Tonga* – culture of *Fefeitapu* Tongan Tapu relationships. The *Fala 'a Kainga* is further enhanced in *Ta-Langa*⁴⁶ -intersecting of one lineage with another in the whole building up of Tongan human community and continue to *Talanoa* - dialogue, philosophising and make history.

In the context of *Fale-Lalava* weaving this *Ta-Langa* concept is referred to the initial criss-crossing of two *fe'unu* – strands of pandanus to form the 'Ta – a cross, as its beginning design. Looking at every *Fala Lalanga* – woven mat, the whole process began with a hidden cross at its very centre – that is what I refer to as the "Ta". And, as the weaver continues to further bending of the *fe'unu* to weave, the bending of two and more criss-crossing strands of pandanus into the 'T' form, she or he develops also, the *hala fakama'u fatu* – the base for the weaving of the *Fala Lalanga* from the

⁴⁵ Bishop of Bayeux William's half brother Odo, *Bayeux Tapestry* 1050-1097. The Bayeux Tapestry, despite its name, is not actually a tapestry at all! It is embroidery, using coloured wool, on 8 long strips of bleached linen which have been stitched together to form a continuous panel about 20 inches high and 230 feet long. We don't know the exact length of the original tapestry, because the final strip is tattered, although the length fits pretty closely around the nave of Bayeux Cathedral, suggesting that it was custom-built for that church. , 20 inches high and 230 feet long The Centre Guillaume le Conquerant (for the linguistically challenge that translates as "The William the Conqueror Centre")

⁴⁶ Tongan proverb goes; "Fala-Lalanga 'i Fale Lalava." Emanated from the protocol of the Two *Fale-Lalava* – house for weaving the *Fala La-Langa* in Tonga in the 19th century; one in Tungua and one in Lapaha. The weavers must prepare the strands of pandanus and sit down on the floor while the instructor who was the Tamaha in Tungua and or the princess in Lapaha studies the patterns and designs. The basic rule of the *Fale Lalanga*, one must sit down and looked up to study the patterns and designs on the alanga Fale 'Olunga – top part of the Fale Tonga. The Fale Tonga is comprised of three main parts which are the Alanga Fale 'Olunga; the Alanga Fale Lalo and the Makatu'unga – meaning the upper house, the lower house and the ground house respectively. The weaver must sit down and study carefully the patterns and designs of the lashing of the Kafa – sinnet on the main parts of the alanga fale 'olunga which are the *feleano, toka, utupoto, teke, to'ufufu loto*, and the . The instructor of the weaving activity will, as according to the occasion the weaving is to be presented, must dictate what pattern and design form the alanga fale 'olunga to be used in respect to the social function the weaving is prepared for. Weaver must learn how start the *hala fakama'u fatu* – the base for the weaving of the *Fala Lalanga* at *Fale Lalava* for in there begins also the *Langa* – weaving of the whole mat and the whole story to be Luva – presented in the occasion.

cross at the centre at *Fale Lalava*. The weaver(s), then look(s) up to the *Lalava* of the *Fale Lalanga* – and weave the fala-mat following the pattern of the *Lalava* likewise. One would be able to read upon the woven mat the pattern of the *Lalava* of the *alanga fale* ‘olunga – upper house of fale Tonga. Thus, the beginning of any *Ta-Langa* is a cross and criss-crosses of strands intersections is made, before further crosses of *fe’unu* – strands are being made as the weaving continues to portray the patterns of the *Lalava* of the *Fale*.

Historio-graphically, for this purpose, the oral and the documented evidences are crossed, bent, intersected and crafted to build a grafting of the whole story for this *Tala-Tukufakabolo* - historio-grafting of Tonga past. This means, *Ta* form begins the *Langa* – weaving of the whole mat of history and the build-up of the whole historio-grafting of this story to be *Lawa* for the occasion of representation of Tonga history and historiography.

(1). *Tala-Tukufakabolo* of the Four-partite (4)

Ha’a Tu’i Tonga lineages.

(2). *Tala-Tukufakabolo* by Lo’au: Kava myth, culture and political forum.

(3). *Tala-Tukufakabolo* and Women: in Moheofo as indigenous ways of re-creating history in Tongan way of cohabitation historiography.

TTF is the Queen Matilda of Tonga who had been instructing the successive generations in the past ten centuries to weave the culture, history and historiography of Tonga for the future generation. One should be able to read the significance of *Ha’a Tu’i Tonga* culture, the Tongan democratic governance in the *Kava* Forum and associated protocol and the *Moheofo* practices over time; as the world could read 3rd century African theologian Tertullian’s⁴⁷ Letter in Perpetua’s weaving.⁴⁸

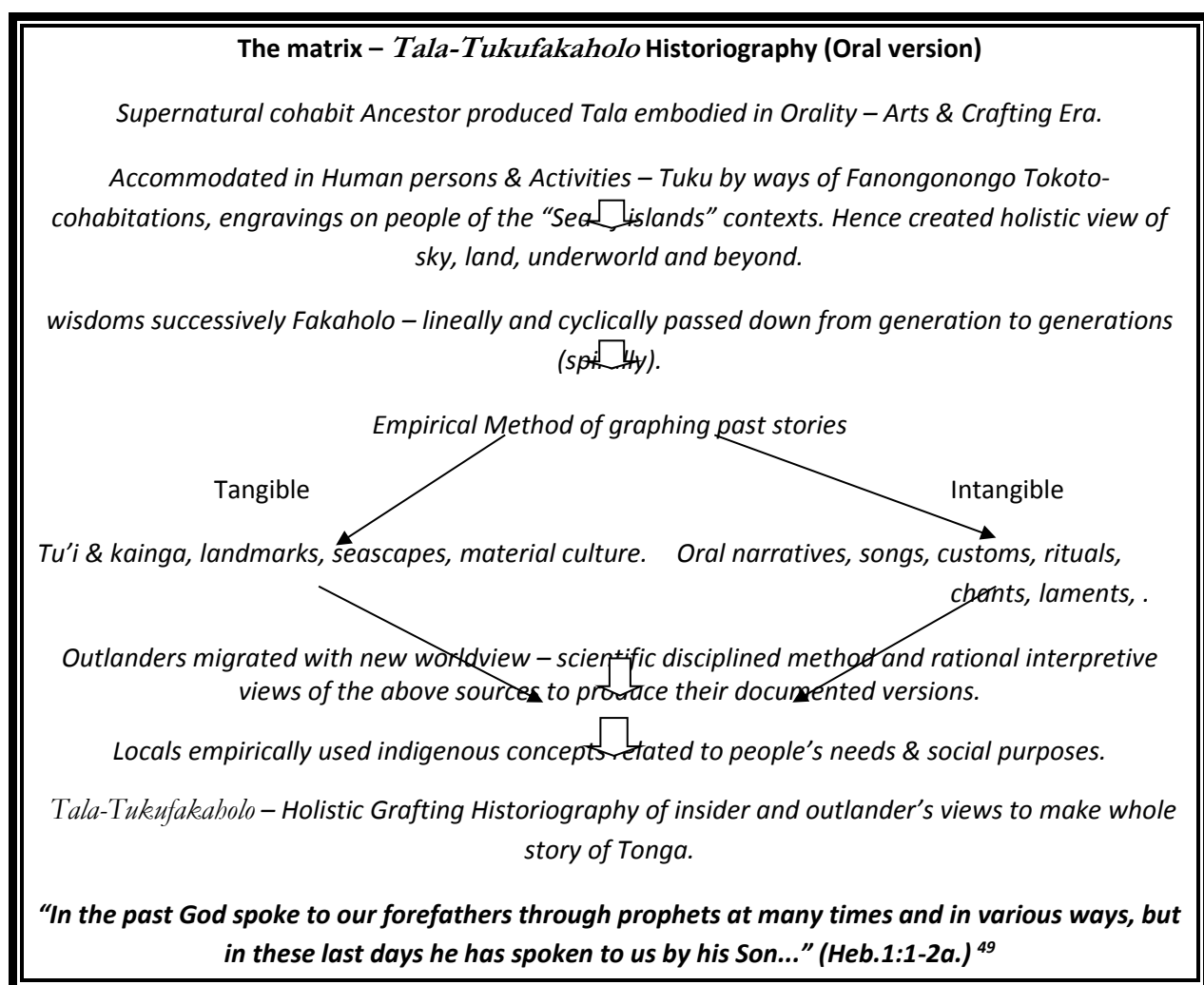
This thesis is only a reflection of my own personal knowledge, philosophy, and passion for a holistic re-view of what I see as how an oppressive and colonial situation exists and where Western views of outsiders’ have hegemony, not only in Tonga, but in the Pacific at large. It does not aim to downplay the validity of the Western documented, scientific exploration and strategies and rationalized history, but rather aims to highlight and walk forward in a positive way to present Tongan history and historiography in Tongan indigenous forms.

⁴⁷ Tertullian, "De Praescription Baereticorum," in *Documents of the Christian Church*, ed. Henry Bettenson (London: Oxford University Press, c.200 published 1967).

⁴⁸ Based on the story by Joyce E Salisbury, *Perpetua's Passion: The Death and Memory of a Young Roman Woman* (New York Routledge 1997).

It is my tribute to my ancestors, country, and people; who lived in the past and passed down *Tala-Tukufakaholo* to the present and which needs to be successively passed on to the future generations. Most importantly, a tribute to my God who is, I believe, the architect of all that was, is, and about to come. An attempted summary of this whole introduction is portrayed in this diagram below as well as the projected outcome. In the end, one should be able to read the involvement of the supernatural (Heb.1.1-4), in the whole build-up of Tongan Oral history and the inter-play of the three elements of *historio-art&crafting*; *historio-graphing*; *historio-grafting* to be known as *Tonga Oralectic* methodology of historiography.

Below is the matrix of the suggested framework and method of *Tala-Tukufakaholo*.



⁴⁹ The Zondervan New International Versions Study Bible, The Epistle to the Hebrews, New Testament book.

The Weaving of Perpetua:⁵⁰

As I rewrite this *Tala-Tukufakaholo* grafting with tears,⁵¹ I see in the above listed beautiful hidden treasures like Tertullian's letter woven through Perpetua's weaving to pass on as my own graft of Tongan history to the next Tongan generations. One should be able to read upon the *Ngatu 'a Fafine* and the *Fala 'a Tangata* the patterns and designs of the *Tala-Tukufakaholo*.

To draw this introduction to a conclusion it should be stated that from this *Tala-Tukufakaholo* participatory-subjective position the author, as a 'subject' views the *Tala* - words of the ancestors as a source of information about the past. The outsiders used their objective strategies of rationalising what appears to them (speculatively) to be our social realities, our people, and our way of life in Oceania. This theorisation was even carried to the extent of critically treating us as "objects" for many years for whatever purpose they chose. The problem of the objective treatment of historical facts is that the historians objectify us as dead things, but we are living people with spirits, beliefs and aspirations. We live here now because of our past which prepared us to be stewards of the past and present realities only because of our future. Somehow, outsiders, chose not to understand us in that framework: our life situation of approaching social realities through "intuitively" belief-based and task-specific, and holistic operations in life.⁵²

At times, we know that we existed in the minds of our subjects as objects, tossed into the ancient past as "primitive, savages, barbarians, and heathens",⁵³ and into the present as "ignorant, under-achieving, third world[er]s", and in the "failed" category. The Missionary Notices, New Zealand,

⁵⁰ Based on the works of Amy Rachel Peterson, *Perpetua: Bridge a Novel, a Martyr and a Passion, Based on True Story* (United States of America Relevant Books: A Division of Relevant Media Group Inc., 2004).; Salisbury, *Perpetua's Passion: The Death and Memory of a Young Roman Woman*

⁵¹ Interviewing one of the oldest informant of Tonga in the 1980's he/she emphasized that the old people of Tonga did not wish the Tongan *Tala-Tukufakaholo* to be written and documented to be rationalized, but rather *Talanoa, mo'ui 'aki and fakamahu'inga'i* – empirically embraced, lived, and valued as a pure Tongan way of life. With due respect, the informant did not want his/her name be documented. Thus, I do not know whether what I am doing now is the right thing to do. I am only consoled by only one thing; i.e. "Let this be recorded for a generation to come, so that a people yet unborn may praise the Lord:..." (Ps.102.18, NRSV).

⁵² Taufe'ulungaki, "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?." (2002), 5.

⁵³ These terms and labels are well contained in diaries, journal, and personal letters of the outside visitors, missionaries, navigators, explorers, and even interpreters of these primary sources, used these terms without reviewing in their writings. These terms were used to represent the status of Tongan people's culture and social interactions and their ways of life. See the works of John Thomas as edited by Nigel Statham, ed. *A History of Tonga as Recorded by Rev. John Thomas*(Seoul: Bible Society in Korea, 2013).

in its report about Tongans stated as “utter barbarians, polygamy, infanticide, idolatry .”⁵⁴ The labelling and stigmatizing of people is a very powerful way of downplaying their human dignity and the significance of their values and beliefs.

Further to that, our island history was rated as pre-history, (meaning no history and not existing at all),⁵⁵ and categorised as pre-contact, (based on European presence and their traditions of writing and recording in the Pacific)⁵⁶, while the stories of our lives were labelled as legendary, mythical, and exorcistic. From the outsider’s point of views, we only existed as objects to use for their purpose. Samoan poet Fepai Kolia’s words indicate that this was also the experience in my neighbouring country of Samoa:

Lost Reality⁵⁷

My sua was presented
It was peculiar.
One percent native culture.
Ninety nine percent alterations.
A tin of cola replaces a coconut.
A roll of cotton silk replaces tapa cloth.
A plastic tray replaces a customary tray.
A tin of beef replaces a Samoan chicken.
A packet of biscuits replaces a bundle of taro.
A case of herrings replaces a pig.
An ie laufala replaces a fine mat.
Sua presentation
A symbol only
A mingle of cultures
A mess of ideologies
A lost reality.

⁵⁴ See Report about Tonga by Lee. G, "Friendly Islands," in *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* (Pacific Manuscript Bureau, Canberra: Australia National University Library and Archive, 1863). 343.

⁵⁵ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember." (2000), 455.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Cited by Leslie Boseto in his respond “Towards a Pacific Theology of Reality’: A Grassroots Response to the *Winds of Change*,” in *Pacific Journal of Theology*, 2.12 (1994): 52.

The Maori scholar's statement about indigenous people is worth quoted here, "As indigenous peoples we have our own research needs and priorities. ["our history" as in Said's term].⁵⁸ Our questions are important. [Appreciative] research helps us to answer them."⁵⁹

The hybridized reality:

My *Tala-Tukufakabolo* case is not a lost reality, as Tonga was never politically colonised.⁶⁰ It can be inferred Rutherford's statement that Tonga politic is a hybridized reality, because of the European investments into their civilizations, religions, scientific worldviews, hegemonic political agenda and colonial pursuits. *Tala-Tukufakabolo*, however, had been further built up in an 'undisciplined' manner, by various generations, in different times, and diverse manners, including insiders and outsiders' versions of re-creation of social realities along time. Re-creations were, by way of merging and infused with their thoughts to present the colonial situation of suppression, marginalizing and colonizing Tongan people's minds.⁶¹ History cannot be a biased version of scientific re-creations, without the oral art and craft versions if we were to present what David Christian suggested for "universal history", so to speak.⁶²

This work hopes to delineate some aspects of Tonga history to account for some misunderstandings of our own Tongan people in our attempt to collaborate the outsider and insider versions of our history for complementation. It seeks to address misunderstanding and any lingering questions about history and historiography in the context of the Tangaloa myth, Tapu Culture and the Oceania environment from a Tongan grassroots viewpoint. In all, it is a hybridized way of de-construction, re-construction, re-presenting of Tonga History suggesting *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as a [w]holistic version. It envisioned Christian's claim for 'Universal History' while attempting a re-view (from within) the colonial situation we are being enslaved in as suggested by Campbell.

But let us see how the chapters for this study are developed.

⁵⁸ Borofsky, ""Post Colonial Politics - a View from Afar (Middle East)-an Interview with Edward Said." (2000), 446.

⁵⁹ . 199.

⁶⁰ Noel Rutherford, "Preface," in *Friendly Islands: A History of Tonga*, ed. Noel Rutherford (Melbourne: Oxford university press, 1977).

⁶¹ Campbell suggested this problem referred to earlier.

⁶² David Christian, "The Return of Universal History," *History and Theory: The Next 50 Years* (2010), <http://thegreatstory.org/universal-history.pdf>. (2010), 1.

Chapters outline.

Chapter One. This chapter sets the stage for this Talanoa *Tala-Tukufakabolo*. It introduces the problem, the purpose of the study and the philosophy underpinning this thesis. It introduces the *Tala-Tukufakabolo* concept in its tripartite format and scholarship with the Pacific scholars who have argued alternatively for Pacific education and historiography. On the main it tries to also introduce possible methodology, cultural logic and philosophy upon which this argument may be best understood. It introduces the hypothesis to prove in the end that *Tala-Tukufakabolo* is an Oralectic framework for Tonga history and historiography.

Chapter Two. This chapter lays the foundational ground of arguing that *Tala-Tukufakabolo* is a journey from the insular to the global, the motivation of the journey and the foundation for the claim, and situating *Tala-Tukufakabolo* in the context of other notions of history in the main culture of the global world. *Tala-Tukufakabolo* in the end of this chapter round them all up to see its space in the global world and limits as a concept aspiring to make a contribution to the global notion of history and historiography. That *Tala-Tukufakabolo* motive empowers and sets my aims and aspirations in writing this thesis.

Chapter Three. This chapter sees the framing of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* (TTF) itself in the journey of my own life in the Tongan notion of time as “walking backwards to the future.” It begins with myself as a piece of *Tala* in person being *Tuku* upon my land, in the context of my ancestral roots, my experiences as a child of the land was non-formally established and *Fakabolo* – recreated within my own experience. In TTF way, the journey is a walk back to past. The culture nurtured my life through the informal way of *Tala-tala-i-Fale* – informed Tongan ethos which was further enhanced through various educational journeys to becoming a servant of the government of Tonga. The turning point with my life experience that turned me from one way to another was from the state to the church. The return was to the base and is the beginning of this new venture.

Chapter Four. This chapter begins with identifying two main streams of *Tala-Tukufakabolo*; the information passed down and the documented wisdom. With this understanding in mind a survey of literature highlights that all literatures whether information in oral or documented forms are a build-up of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* in its holistic sense. Literatures on Tonga history are re-viewed for its relation to *Tala-Tukufakabolo*. It also suggests sources of history from indigenous *corpus logus* of information and wisdom of the ancestral community of Tonga. A theory of the cultural framework

argued as alternative for the alleged colonial situation and a move to posit it as a holistic framework. *Tala-Tukufakabolo* is set as the successful cultural approach to history and historiography in Tonga.

Chapter Five. This chapter argues *Tala-Tukufakabolo* concept an alternative method in its cultural context. Its related counterpart is Tala-e-Fonua is the example of reclaiming the value of the fonua in *Tala-Tukufakabolo* framework. The Bayeux Tapestry is related here to *Tala-Tukufakabolo* in terms of world history and historiography. As Queen Matilda advised the ladies to weave and embroidered the tapestry, so too the ancestral community and generations of Tongans advised the present generation of a given time to live, make, paint and draw *Tala-Tukufakabolo* to portray the pictures that represent each era. The power of the Tapestry which stood the test of time may be equated to *Tala-Tukufakabolo* and how it had stood the test of time and scrutiny to date.

Chapter Six will provide the first Case study of *Tala-Tukufakabolo*. The Four Partite Ha'a Tu'i Tonga of 78 title holders from 950 AD. to date will be outlined to illustrate the *Tala-Tukufakabolo* way of presenting history and historiography in human kingships. The four different lineages Ha'a Tu'i Tonga with 39 title holders; Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua with 16 title holders, and Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu with 17 title holders, and the present ruling Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou to its 6th title holder. The genealogical successions and its survival to the fourth kingship of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou proves the longest *Tala-Tukufakabolo* ruling kingship in the Pacific.

Chapter Seven narrates the second case study of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* in the Kava culture and ritual. The Lo'au migrants articulated the myth of Kava, the plants and items related and formed the associated protocols that manifested in the Laulau o Kava. This chapter in whole, comprises a commentary of the Laulau o Kava with a portrait of the Taumafa Kava setting. It suggests that the seating of members portrays the way Tu'i, Hou'eiki and people of Tonga living and interacted for the benefit of social unity and harmony.

Chapter Eight offers the last Case study of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* in the practice of Mohefo. It highlights the status and value of women in Tongan culture. It will put into perspective Mohefo as a way of historiography – grafting history in human re-generations. The beginning of Mohefo practice and its fruit in the social hierarchy is a build-up and or history in the making. It provides the reason why the present ruling Ha'a Tu'i is known as Ha'a Mohefo.

Chapter Nine will sum up the thesis with *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as holistic Oralectic framework founded and articulated from Tongan Oral historiography and history. It will suggest a move on

from colonialism to holism and the reason why. The need to leave something positive for the future generation rather than invoking negative and bad feelings about the shortfalls of the past.

A conclusion will be offered to sum up the findings of this thesis.

CHAPTER ONE. SETS THE STAGE: FOR TALANOA – *TALA-TUKUFAKAHOLO*.

“In the past God spoke to our forefathers through prophets at many times and in various ways, but in these last days he has spoken to us by his Son,...” (*Na’e fakakongokonga mo angakebekebe ‘a e fai mu’a ‘e be ‘Otua ‘ene folofola ki he matu’a ‘i ha kau palofita, ka ‘i he faka’osi ‘o ono’aho na’a ne folofola kiate kitautolu ‘i ha ‘Alo;....* [Moulton Trans.]), (Hebrews.1:1-2a.)

Ko e Tala na’e ‘ikai hano tohi, ka e kei Tukufakaholo mei he ngutu ki he telinga, mei he matu’a ki he fanau. (Queen Salote Tupou III).⁶³ [Their chronicles/narratives⁶⁴ were not documented on [paper] or [in] books but were passed down from mouth[s] to ear[s], by fathers to their children. (translation – author)]

Introduction

This chapter sets the stage for this Talanoa *Tala-Tukufakaholo*. It introduces the problem, the purpose of the study and the philosophy underpinning this thesis work. It also introduces the *Tala-Tukufakaholo* concept in its tripartite format and scholarship and Pacific scholars who have argued alternatives for Pacific education and historiography. On the main it tries to also introduce possible Methodology, Cultural logic and Philosophy upon which this argument may be best understood. It will sum up the whole work to suggest *Tala-Tukufakaholo* as an Oralectic framework for Tonga history and a *graffiti* of history by way of grafting historiography.

1.1. The Problem: Colonization.

Mainstream businesses, religion, and education can make terrible mistakes and offer strategies that may lead to suppression, marginalization and colonizing certain groups of people and their values of life, most especially the vulnerable. Education, and in particular History and Historiography has been narrowly defined since the age of science, rationalization and philosophical explorations by Greek philosophers and Western scholars, who have based their claims on human dialectical reasoning, scientific disciplined strategy and documented sourced evidences. That drove the

⁶³ Queen Salote Tupou III, *Ko e Ngaahi Tohi ‘a ‘Ene ‘Afio, 1958-59*, (The Writings of Queen Salote), T.S Copies in Palace Office Pangai, (P.O.P) Nuku’alofa, Tonga.

⁶⁴ Chronicle or narrative, an amalgamation of the whole may be related to what is claimed as meta-narrative.

subject into a narrower end of 'social change pursuits', hegemonic and colonial in nature since the 5th century BC. That made education the most powerful weapon to change and convert the worldviews of weaker societies to a hegemonic strategy of colonial pursuits.⁶⁵ This problem is studied in this thesis from an insider, point of view to suggest an inside story of the history of Tonga from a holistic framework of Historio-graphy.

1.2. The Question:

Is it possible that we have a history on our own?

Edward Said,⁶⁶ Ian Campbell,⁶⁷ Niel Gunson⁶⁸ and Phyllis Herda⁶⁹ all agree that Pacific people have their own history. In the context of the Tongan Tapu culture (Tonga), Tangaloa myth (Polynesia), and Oceania-environment (Pacific oceanic continent), this thesis looks beyond the colonial views of History and the dominant method of historiography. From that inside perspective, History is *Tala-Tukufakabolo*. Ontologically, it refers to the organic aggregate of stories about the supernatural received by ancestors of the people called Tongans (Polynesians/Pacificans)⁷⁰ in the immemorial past, successively and orally passed down through generations of the ages, in time and space. Historiography in epistemological terms is *Tala-Tukufakabolo*, which is simply three things namely; *Tala* (Words contain information) which was *Tuku* (embodied in person, thoughts and inscribed on materials), and *Fakabolo* (successively re-viewed and re-created) as the history of the Tongans past. Classically, it refers to creative word[s] of meta-knowledge believed to be, from the

⁶⁵ Echoed in the statement of the South African anti-apartheid revolutionary, politician and philanthropist Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, who served as President of South Africa from 1994 to 1999; "Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world." Borrowed from http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/n/nelson_mandela.html (accessed 21.04.2015).

⁶⁶ Borofsky, ""Post Colonial Politics - a View from Afar (Middle East)-an Interview with Edward Said." (2000), 446.

⁶⁷ Campbell, "A History Policy for Tonga." (2011), 31.

⁶⁸ Gunson, "Tongan Historiography: Shamanic Views of Time and History." (1996), 13.

⁶⁹ Phyllis S. Herda, "Reviews: I.C. Campbell *a History of the Pacific Islands* Christchurch: University of Canterbury Press, (1989). And I.C. Campbell, *Island Kingdom: Tonga Ancient and Modern*, Christchurch: University of Canterbury Press, (1992)." *New Zealand Journal of History* 28, no. 1 (1994). 109.

⁷⁰ From my *Tala-Tukufakabolo* view, I refer to this Tongan and version of the truth as only a minor group and minor version within the major group of the Polynesians (version) and in a wider view these two groups are only one part of the tripartite aggregated group of the Pacificans (Polynesian, Melanesian, and Micronesian), which is only a minor part of the major global society, (black, brown and white races) which the globe is only a minor part of the whole Universe of the supernatural Universe. Based on the term "heavens"(Gen.1.1), I sense there are other universes beside this globe where the faithful to the *Tala* of God are purified to be welcomed by Jesus to their final heavenly destination.

supernatural being received and practically embodied in human persons in the pre-ante-diluvium era⁷¹, logically *fakakongokonga* (in cultural terms), successively *angakebekebe* (re-generated in diverse manners) and passed down through and through to finally become localized in the islands of Tonga as *Tala-Tukufakabolo*.⁷²

The term *Tala* is being variedly translated as tales, stories or myths, but in the context of *Tala-Tukufakabolo*, it refers to the *corpus logus* – re-creative the words from supernatural passed down through ancestral community to become the meta-narratives and meta-knowledge of Tongan people's lives (if not the global society). Its verbal form encapsulates a *fakamatala me'a hokohoko* or a successive narrating of its embodiments in people's life events, attitudes and generations of the eras, from the *kuonga mu'a*-unknown original era down to the present, looking forward to the *'amui* which is to come in the – *kaba'u*. The term *Kuonga* refers only to the past processes of events and the associated generations of people at each era, leading on to the present and *mu'a* depicts the original source of the *Tala* and era. It is a look back to the original era of Tonga history and examined how the word of God was received, accommodated and *fakakongokonga* -“different times” and *angakebekebe* - “diverse manners” as it was manifested in cultural terms.

It is also understood that there is a hierarchy of narratives which varied over time, from inscribing thoughts on land, sea, and objects to documenting on manuscripts. By this, I mean the artistic crafting of stories on parchments to the articulation and *graphon* - documenting of narratives in scientific strategies by the Western civilized and Judaeo-Christian tradition and the colonial motivation that dominated the world in the wake of the Enlightenment period, down to this Hybridized, *Graffiti* and Skype age.

This work is also aware that the Western world classified narratives as Chronicles – narrating of events according to time; Annals are chronicles divided by year and terms – which interpret the events; Travels - as record of journeys; Narrative – stories of event and reports – the sequential report of an event – all based on documenting narratives. It is also understood that the term history in Western culture is also variedly defined as; ‘record’ (Eng.-Lat.), ‘process’ (Germany.), ‘inquiry’ (Greek.), ‘genealogy’ (Hebrews.) and the same is ‘*Tala-Tukufakabolo*’ (chronicle) in Tongan.

1.3. The Context: where History and Historio-graphy is being understood, and used.

⁷¹ I refer to the theory claimed about a Pre-Flood world or the Pre-Adamite world that exist before Adam's community referred to by various scholarships on global civilizations.

⁷² Hebrews 1.1-2a. (NRSV)

This thesis asserts that the contemporary definition and usage of the term *History* engaged a narrow meaning, which is dominantly based on the Greek term *istoria* - history as mere “inquiry”- rational examination and the term *Historiography* as the *graphou* – documentation of the “investigation” of the inquirer on written sources, and their credentials drawn largely from scientifically rationalized documented (graphed) sources. Thus, in my view, this notion of history as an “inquiry” had led the world to dwell on this narrow definition of ‘history’ as, in my own wording, ‘a systematic investigation aiming at a discovery of facts of the past, selectively taking only certain facts (appealing to rational mind) to become *facts of history*, and interpreted in a scientific way to see social changes’.⁷³ This Scientific treatment of history as *an inquiry*, is basically a mental exercise; a mental experiment of the researcher/historian, a guinea pig, which hijacked history from the past and treated it as a speculative exercise in the mind of the historian in the present. This narrow meaning of history and documented historiography has controlled the trend of historical thoughts and writings to a disciplinary systematized modernist inquiry – based merely on the face value of reality. With due respect to the authoritative works of Ian C. Campbell about the Pacific *A History of the Pacific Islands*, (1989), and Tonga, in particular *Island Kingdom: Tonga Ancient and Modern* (1992). I quote a “Review” of Campbell’s works by Phyllis C. Herda, who stated;

Unfortunately, one learns more about Europe and its imperialistic designs from the book than about the Pacific and its past. It seems to me inevitable that this would be the case in a book like this kind because...the Pacific did not exist as a distinct entity until Europeans entered the area. While each island or island group clearly has its own past and its own way of reconstructing the past the recognition of a regional identity of the scale on which Campbell writes simply did not exist until it was created in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Even then, the Pacific was an area of basically European geographical designation with broad European invented cultural categories *and* very distinct island histories.⁷⁴

This is, in my view, became the roots of colonial development in the Pacific history and historiography. The rights of certain indigenous people in the Pacific had been denied, suppressed, and marginalized if not commoditized and politicized based only on the view of the historian and the law of documentations. The oral customs and rights of the people are ascribed as pre-history and “no history” at all, because their realities were not written or documented. For this respect Hau’ofa stated; “the Canberra School of Pacific historians”, conceptualized Pacific history into

⁷³ Gunson, "Tongan Historiography: Shamanic Views of Time and History." (1996), 12.

⁷⁴ Herda, "Reviews: I.C. Campbell *a History of the Pacific Islands* Christchurch: University of Canterbury Press, (1989). And I.C. Campbell, *Island Kingdom: Tonga Ancient and Modern*, Christchurch: University of Canterbury Press, (1992).". 109.

“two main periods: the pre-contact and post contact periods,” and the determining factor to this “is the presence of the Europeans with their tradition of writing and recording.”⁷⁵

Thus, history and historiography needs ‘deconstruction’ in Jacques Derrida’s view ⁷⁶ which is also supported by Edward Said who asserted “everybody has a history...[and] to be human is to have and make history.”⁷⁷ Steward Firth suggests for the Pacific a “withdrawal of colonial power”, “dismantling of colonial empires” and “delegation” of rights to the colonized to rule their own nations.” Linda T. Smith offered her “decolonized research methodologies” for Maori culture⁷⁸ while Konaiholeva Helu Thaman suggested re-cultivating “Cultural Democracy” for Pacific Education.⁷⁹ For Tonga, ‘Ana Maui Taufe’ulungaki projected and implemented “alternative” for Tongan education.⁸⁰

For deconstruction, this thesis suggests that the ancestors of Tongan people (if not the global) are thought to have received *Tala* words of the supernatural somewhere in times past and were somehow migrated up/down with it to the Pacific ⁸¹ in the way Kerry Howe suggested as ‘waves’ of people⁸² to become ancestors of the Tongans (if not Polynesians/Pacific).⁸³ Howe quoted J.W. Davidson “European penetration of the South Pacific,” who stated,

⁷⁵ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember." (2000), 455.

⁷⁶ The Philosophical and literary criticisms forged in the writing of the French scholar Jacques Derrida's work 'Of Grammatology' 1967. <http://prelectur.stanford.edu/lecturers/derrida/deconstruction.html> (accessed 15/08/2014)

⁷⁷ Borofsky, ""Post Colonial Politics - a View from Afar (Middle East)-an Interview with Edward Said." 443-452.

⁷⁸ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*(London: Zed Books Ltd 1999).

⁷⁹ Thaman, "Towards Cultural Democracy in Pacific Education: An Imperative for the 21st Century."

⁸⁰ Taufe'ulungaki, "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?."

⁸¹ See the works of Fornander and his search for Polynesian ancestry in Abraham Fornander, "An Account of the Polynesian Race. ," vol. II, *An Account of the Polynesian Race: Its Origins and Migrations, and the Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehemeha I.* (London: Trubner & Company Ludgate Hill, 1878), <https://archive.org/stream/accountofpolynes02fornuoft>. (accessed 10.04.2015).

⁸² I am referring here to Kerry Howe’s theory of ‘Where the waves fall?’ which he developed from J.C. Beaglehole *The Life of Capt. James Cook*, and J.W. Davidson “European Penetration of the South Pacific”, See K R Howe, *Where the Waves Fall: A New South Sea History from First Settlement to Colonial Rule*, Pacific Islands Monograph Series, No. 2 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996). V.

⁸³ I am engaging in another project with a scholar namely Haamonga from Zambia, Africa in re-searching for the connection of the Pacific-Tongans with the African-Tongans under the question of the origin of the Tongans, if not Polynesian people. The name of my Zambian counter-part Haamonga in itself the Tongan name for trilithon

As waves break upon the coral ringed shores of the South Seas, each one overtaken by the next before its energy is quite spent, so has the history of the Pacific been marked by successive and merging phases.⁸⁴

What Davidson and Howe, in my view, are referring to above is how Pacific history is being build up in *Tala-Tukufakabolo* way - it has “marked by successive and merging phases.” Tangaloans⁸⁵ arrival in Tonga is dated by most historians to 950AD, although the latest archaeological findings by Canadian archaeologist David Burley on Lapita settlements moves the date back to 3000BCE.⁸⁶ This thesis cannot bridge this gap of two thousand years. However, it will only use sources of the *Tala-Tukufakabolo* dated to 950 AD. and the stories on orality that associated the surviving legacies of that Ha’a Tu’i Tonga who ruled the island Tu’i-dom from that time onward. Though, also some stories had been taken as mythical realities, this *Tala-Tukufakabolo* viewpoint however, takes it that the surviving realities of Tonga today are rooted in the immemorial past. In an evolutionary way – meaning the rises and falls of generations, the myths developed and died down as time takes the best of a generations myth and move on to the next generation. What could only be associated with survived legacies are *crafted myths* of legends and saga designs on human persons; and *graphed* practical ways of documentation on human features, blood and DNA, materials, land and sea-space and scape.

It is still not known where the Tongan people came from to settle on these atolls and formed a Tu’i-dom that survived over one thousand years. The Tongan people today are still holding fast to that *Tala-Tukufakabolo*, although the Western worldview had already colonized their minds. From the Western impact on the Tongan practically oriented worldviews, (Tongan minds) it is evident that merging social realities were in place, and a double-dynamic reality, in my view, may be formed within the minds of Tongan people. With due respect, Tongan professor Malakai Koloamatangi,

historic stone. This re-search will be presented in the next TRA Conference in Nuku’alofa, Tonga, July, 2015. See also the work by Damon Salesa, "The Pacific in Indigenous Time," in *Pacific Histories Ocean, Land, People*, ed. David Armitage and Bashford Alison(England and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

⁸⁴ Originally by J.W.Davidson, quoted by Kerry H. Howe, *Where the Waves Fall: A New South Sea Island History from First Settlement to Colonial Rule*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996). V.

⁸⁵ Sefesi suggested that Tangaloans should replace the imported term “Polynesians” which is a coinage of the Europeans. La’akulu Fis’ihoi Sefesi, Talanoa, Auckland 28 November, 2016.

⁸⁶ David V Burley, "Tongan Archaeology and Tongan Past, 2850-150 B.P.," *Journal of World Prehistory* 12, no. 3 (1998).; David V Burley et al., "Nukuleka as a Founder Colony for West Polynesian Settlement: New Insights from Recent Excavations," *Journal of Pacific Archaeology* 1, no. 2 (2010).; David V Burley, Marshall I Weisler, and Jian-xin Zhao, "High Precision U/Th Dating of First Polynesian Settlement," *PLOS ONE* 7, no. 11 (2012).

for example, is a Massey University lecturer who acts professionally at that level, but when attending a Tongan *Katoanga* – ceremony with his given cultural title of *Mafua ‘a Lulutai* – one can see him wears his formal attire and *Ta’ovala* and performs his cultural role in that *katoanga* in proper Tongan protocol. The person in actuality with the dormant Tongan-Western realities within, somehow, works in hybridized way to present the best in both culture. Every generations in *Tala-Tukufakaholo* way amalgamates the hybridized realities to produce the best for an occasion and the next generations successively.

The way of *grafting* supernatural and physical material realities, to become the surviving oral and *material cultures in this hybridized age is evident from the surviving human heritages and material culture*. These processes finally found its form into what I term in Tongan as the organic aggregate of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* history and historiography.

1.4. The main argument: Underpinning this work.

This thesis argues that Tonga has its own history and oral way of historiography. *Tala-Tukufakaholo* is the organic aggregate of oral stories and materials of history that existed over time in the tri-partite forms and contexts of the *arts-and-crafting*, scientific *graphing*, and hybridized *graffiti* practices of this globalized age. This is evident in the surviving intangible orality and remaining legacies of tangible four-partite Ha’a Tu’i Tonga lineages, the material cultures, the monuments, the indigenous patterns of designs and arts on architecture, carvings, tattoo, the performing cultures of dances, song compositions, and land and sea-scapes that are significant value for the people of Tonga (if not Polynesia and the Pacific) today. Although I am not able to connect the people of Tonga to a definite origin of the past, I have chosen to relate the surviving legacies of the Tonga’s past, to the declaration in the Book of the Hebrews as the text of this thesis (Heb.1:1-2a). The surviving legacies of Tonga’s ancestral past in part resemble the received words of the supernatural which was *fakakongokonga* “in different times” and *angakebekebe* – “in many ways” revealed to *kau matu’a* - ancestors through the *kau taula* - “prophets” is the pattern in which Tongan history and historiography was oriented.

This claim may be related to the Preachers’ suggestion in the Bible of ‘there being a time for everything’ statement; “Everything that happened in this world happens at the time God chooses. He sets the time for birth and the time for death....”⁸⁷ The Preacher’s following statements depict the reading of human life events in a cyclical development of things over the lineal pattern of time,

⁸⁷ Ecclesiastes 3.1-2. *Good News Bible: Today’s English Version*, (1977).

the baseline of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. The *Tala* of the event against Time and Space is the associated oral narrative which, I view to have been documented as *Tala-Tukufakabolo* by historiographers as in the Bible. Combining life events that happened in cyclical and lineal pattern, gives me the ‘spiral’ pattern I am suggesting to-be the pattern of development of *Tala-Tukufakabolo*. It is ‘words’ received from the past, not only a theorized ‘form of thought’ but emanating from a real practical ‘way of life’ and had been successively lived by generations through and through. The nature of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* is evident in Psalm 78, where the Psalter⁸⁸ says,

Listen, my people, to my teaching, and pay attention to what I say. I am going to use wise sayings and explain mysteries from the past, things we have heard and known, things our fathers told us. We will not keep them from our children; we will tell the next generation about the Lord’s power and his great deeds and the wonderful things he has done.

Tala-Tukufakabolo as tripartite forms of reminiscences, is here suggested as the [w]holistic historiographical developments of global history, and is present in all societies. By this I mean, “in different times, and in many diverse manners”, human society began their artistic crafting of oral traditions, laws and customs, until the Greeks introduced their scientific forms of rational historiography to discipline the world in a fixed point. The appearance of *graffiti* on the world stage today in my view is the newest chapter of the age of amalgamation of the original medieval arts and crafting and modern scientific graphing eras unto what I coined as historio-grafting in this post-colonial period. By this, I mean to amalgamate the arts and crafts, the science and reasons to offer my own *graffiti* for history and historiography as a complement to Western historiography. Although, I have not found any firm connection between the Tongans and the biblical story, I dwell on contextual readings of the biblical text over surviving tangible human *Ha’a Tu’i Tonga* lineages and material cultures, and intangible orality in context for my re-version. I read *Tala-Tukufakabolo* had originally developed as a “belief and total reliance in supernatural” to have been the *FakaTonga* - Tongan way as suggested by Konaiholeva Helu Thaman. This *fakaTonga* way had been deeply lived, motivated and influenced the belief and reliance of the Tongan people in the sky-god to date. The nineteenth century historian Abraham Fornander in his searching for Polynesian ancestry on legend and folklore stated;

⁸⁸ Though I take the whole story of the Bible to have presented in *Tala-Tukufakabolo* itself, I read Psalm 78 in the light of the teaching of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* – as in verse 5b, “He instructed our ancestors to teach his laws [Tala] to their children so that the next generation might learn them and in turn should tell their children.” anonymous, “Psalm 78,” in *Good News Bible: Today’s English Version*, ed. The Bible Society in New Zealand(Wellington: The Bible Society in New Zealand, 1977).

They spoke of continents and not of islands, as their birthplace. They referred to events in the far past which have hitherto been considered as the prehistoric heirlooms of Cushites and Semites alone....and the language in which that folklore is conveyed...on a critical examination, to be fundamentally Arian of pre-Vedic type before the inflections were fully developed or generally adopted.⁸⁹

Thus, I limit myself in this study of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as an insular grassroots' attempt at a re-version of Tonga's national history purporting to the universal truth of the global history which I believed to be all rooted in the Word of God as *Tala* of life.

This *Tala-Tukufakabolo* version envisioned a [w]holistic re-view of the subject in the sense that it attempts a re-defining of history and historiography in its wider global context of historiographical development from the so-called theological mythical era to the present hybridized age. The view is a Tongan (theologically influenced) perspective of FakaTonga. Konaiholeva Helu Thaman defines FakaTonga as; "a belief and total reliance in the supernatural." Thus, it basically alludes attributes of life to a supernatural connection, with the people, sea, land, environment, culture, people's experiences and any dimensions of life that makes a whole being.⁹⁰ For historiography, it gives *Tala-Tukufakabolo* its [w]holistic framework as the source of all knowledge, if not meta-knowledge and meta-narratives. This view aims to contribute in a small way to the attempt by Pacific scholars for a paradigm shift of the Oceania natives' views to an alter-native perspective,⁹¹ of re-viewing realities through Tongan and Pacific lenses.⁹² Basically I refer to the views of the

⁸⁹ See "Preface" of Fornander, "An Account of the Polynesian Race. ." (1878), p. vi.

⁹⁰ Anamaui Taufe'ulungaki, "Keynote Address by the Minister for Education, Women Affairs and Culture," in *Safeguarding Cultural Heritage* (Tonga National Cultural Center, Tofoa, Nuku'alofa, Tonga: Tonga Ministry of Education, Women Affairs and Culture, 29 March 2011).; see also Taufe'ulungaki, "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?."

⁹¹ Vaka'uta, "Talanga: A Tongan Mode of Interpretation."

⁹² Suggested by Anamaui Taufe'ulungaki as cited in Campbell, "A History Policy for Tonga." 31.

following 'Tongan scholars: Latukefu,⁹³ 'Thaman,⁹⁴ 'Taufe'ulungaki,⁹⁵ Hau'ofa,⁹⁶ Mahina,⁹⁷ Tongati'o,⁹⁸ Vaiioleti,⁹⁹ and Vaka'uta,¹⁰⁰ which appear to me as 'deconstruction' towards a decolonized methodology of 'Tongan view about life, history and education. The same had also been well developed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith¹⁰¹ for the Maori culture, in the context of Sir Peter Buck's work¹⁰² on Maori history; and Albert Wendt's work¹⁰³ for Samoan culture. There are also the works of David Baleiwaqa¹⁰⁴ and Sewati Tuwere's¹⁰⁵ works on Vanua for Fijian history and culture, and Salesa's work¹⁰⁶ on Pacific indigenous time. These claims have been supported

⁹³ Sione Latukefu, "Oral Traditions: An Appraisal of Their Value in Historical Research in Tonga.," *Journal of Pacific History* 3(1968); *ibid*.

⁹⁴ Thaman, "Towards Cultural Democracy in Pacific Education: An Imperative for the 21st Century."; "Decolonizing Pacific Studies: Indigenous Perspectives, Knowledge, and Wisdom in Higher Education" (paper presented at the Centre for Pacific Island Studies Conference, Suva, 2003).; "Concepts of Learning, Knowledge and Wisdom in Tonga, and Their Relevance to Modern Tonga," *Prospects* XXV, no. 4 (1995).

⁹⁵ 'Taufe'ulungaki, "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?."

⁹⁶ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember." 453-471.

⁹⁷ Hufanga 'Okusitino Mahina, "The Tongan Traditional History *Tala-E-Fonua*: A Vernacular Ecology-Centred Historico-Cultural Concept" (PhD Thesis, Australian National University, 1992).

⁹⁸ Lesieli Pelesikoti Tongati'o, "Ko E Fana Fotu: Success in Moton, Transforming Pasifika Education in Aotearoa New Zealand 1993-2009 " (University of Canterbury, 2010).

⁹⁹ Vaiioleti, "'Talanoa, Manulua and Founa Ako: Frameworks for Using, Enduring Tongan Educational Ideas for Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand,."

¹⁰⁰ Vaka'uta, "*Talanga*: A Tongan Mode of Interpretation." (2010), 149-165.

¹⁰¹ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. (1999).

¹⁰² Te Rangi (Sir Peter Buck) Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori*(Wellington: Maori Purpose Fund Board, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, 1966).

¹⁰³ Albert Wendt, "Inside Us the Dead," in *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History*, ed. R Borofsky(Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000).

¹⁰⁴ Tevita Baleiwaqa, "*Rerevaka Na Kalou Ka Doka Na Tui* Fear God and Honour the King: The Influence of the Wesleyan Methodists on the Institutions of Fijian Identity " (unpublished, Australian National University, February, 2003).

¹⁰⁵ Ilaitia Sewati Tuwere, *Vanua: Towards a Fijian Theology of Place*(University of the South Pacific: Institute of Pacific Studies, 2002).

¹⁰⁶ Salesa, "The Pacific in Indigenous Time." (2014), 31-52.

positively by three outside historians; Maude,¹⁰⁷ Crocombe¹⁰⁸ and Firth,¹⁰⁹ who for many years lived, worked and published works among and about the Pacific people.

1.5. A Response to Global Education and Historiography:

This study is a response to the problem of “colonization of the Tongan minds” by the scholars from outside Tonga as suggested by New Zealand historian (though he is an Australian) Ian Campbell.¹¹⁰ The problem of the colonization of Tongan minds was also addressed by Thaman from an educational view point. However, my way of exploring this is to take Neil Gunson’s claim for studying history as he stated; “Any discussion of Tongan historiography should begin with the sources.”¹¹¹ I re-viewed the term *historiography* as having been a combination of two Greek terms; *‘istoria* meaning ‘history’ is an ‘inquiry’; and *graphou* meaning ‘writing’ by way of documentation. Thus, my whole view is that it narrowly defines historiography to its currently limited definition, as “the writing of an individual enquiry”. In my own terms of reference, I state that history had been dominated by this scientific orientation for years, more as a science rather than an art. Thus, history had been largely defined as “the systematic investigation, aiming a discovery of facts from written (documented) sources to answer a particular disciplined question.”

This understanding of historiography had controlled and dominated not only Tongan historiography as Campbell stated, but the whole global historiography. The Western hegemonic nature and colonial pressure in historiographical terms is felt in every aspect of historiography, meaning it had been used by outsiders to ‘control certain aspects of the minds’ of the insiders. By this, I mean that anything not written, undocumented and irrational to outsiders are rated unscientific, mythical, and un-historical. This is what I see as the heart of the problem in global History and Historiography – it is the Western imperialistic colonial hegemony of historiography.

¹⁰⁷ H E Maude, *Of Islands and Men: Studies in Pacific History*(Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1968).

¹⁰⁸ Ron Crocombe, "Trends in Pacific Thoughts: The Last 50,000 Years and the Next 100," in *Polynesian Paradox: Essays in Honour of Professor 'I. Futa Helu*, ed. Eve Coxon and I C Campbell(Suva: University of the South Pacific, 2005).

¹⁰⁹ Stewart Firth, "Decolonization," in *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History*, ed. R Borofsky(Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000). 314-332.

¹¹⁰ Campbell, "A History Policy for Tonga."

¹¹¹ Niel Gunson, "Tongan Historiography: Shamanic Views of Time and History," in *Tongan Culture and History: Papers from the 1st Tongan History Conference Held in Canberra 14-17 January, 1987*, ed. Phyllis Herda, Jenniffer Terrell, and Niel Gunson(Canberra: The Journal of Pacific History inc. in collaboration with Target Oceania, 1996). 13.

This is how Jacques Derrida's argument for 'deconstruction' came to my mind and in my view the situation is not only on Tongan history but the real colonization of global History and historiography. This colonial situation makes people who relied heavily on orality more confused and vulnerable. Dominantly, the outsiders' thoughts have marginalized the insiders' beliefs and lens of viewing their social realities, suppressed their indigenous cultural values, and footnoted their oral sources of history as unscientific, fragmented, and unwritten with no-proofs. History in my view is not only, as Westerners defined it as the 'study of social change', but is his- [& her] story[ies] – the stories of and about the past of humanity and the ways they have lived and successively re-created their social realities in time and space. The global definition of history and historiography cannot be unjustly scrutinized by an individual nutshell world's narrow definition as 'one size fits all' as in the Western notion of historiography as argued by Neil Gunson.¹¹²

The above problem had all been arisen, in my view for only one reason; the outsiders dominated the political agenda, using science and dialectical strategies as their weapons to pursue their case and push their way through in the global world and this globalized age. It follows along that line of scientific thought, they do not wish to accept the associated orality, which they cannot read and understand the sources of arts and craft, the human generations now live in society as evidence of the past themselves, and the surviving legacies of material cultures as all pertaining to the life of humankind of the past as sources. That scientific way, in my view, drives history and historiography towards a dead end – a mere speculative exercise.

Thus, from above, I re-defined the English-Greek influenced term *historio-graphy* in its tripartite holistic context of *historio-graphic* development over the three ages of: indigenous *arts* and *crafting*, scientific *graphing*, and metaphorically *grafting* of past social realities to coin the terms I suggest in the thesis as; *historio-art and crafting*, *historio-graphing* and *historio-grafting* of the past.

This is the basis of this thesis - *Tala-Tukufakaholo* contextual re-views, redefining and re-version of Tongan historiography and into its holistic global context to re-read its tripartite notions over the arts and craft, scientific graphing and hybridizing graf[fi]ting eras and epochs to show us, if it may, a notion of what David Christian of the Wesleyan University prophesied as "The return of Universal history".¹¹³

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Christian, "The Return of Universal History". 1-16. (accessed 21.04.2015).

Pacific historians if not all colonized societies, from their disadvantaged, colonized situation, should challenge the global community to re-view and re-define the present scientific version of colonial historiography of their own society. Since the age of Colonization, the Western hegemony dictated the reading of the Pacific history through their own *palangi* documented lens – anything outside that purview is being categorized as not history and upon that basis, produce their own versions of history. The colonisers used the indigenous oral values and cultural lenses in derogative terms, although these values are conjoined with the people's beings (ontology) and knowledge (epistemology) and which relevantly account to the people's needs. This is, in my view, the way of applying measures of restorative justice for the sake of the colonized insiders in terms of History and Historiography.

Since the age of imperialism and colonization, global history had been largely dominated by Western scientific disciplined historiography, and their modernists' objective views and lenses, based upon their presences with their wealth, power and so-called civilization of scientific methods of documentations and recordings. Their views not only influenced the insiders' view of themselves and their society, but perpetuated the pressure of colonization of the minds of these indigenous societies (individual); marginalization of their virtuous realities (identities); and suppression of their indigenous traditional core values (culture).

From a decolonized viewpoint, this thesis argues that autonomy cannot be attained through dependence on outsiders; rather autonomy should be given to colonized societies and their indigenous traditional cultural values to present their cases. The historiographers of major communities of the developed nations of Asia, the America and Africa have produced their own versions of their history. The colonized undeveloped and weaker nations have not been given their independence to produce the integrity of their own inside versions of their [her or his] story. This is because they had been strategically forced through Western education to view life only from a scientific lens and not art and craft. In that way, insiders depend on outsiders and mostly Westerners to produce and re-create their social realities for themselves. Those versions of history are produced through theoretical lenses and hypothetical values that are foreign to the people under study and alien to the needs of the people of that society today. Re-creating history in Western scientific and rational modernist (based upon what they see in their own speculative theoretical frameworks, and believed to have happened) versions are real perpetuations of the monopolization of knowledge, and colonization of the colonized weaker people's minds.

Thus, it attempts a re-version of Tonga (national) history through Tongan concepts and religious cultural lens.¹¹⁴ It suggests the Tongan indigenous concept *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as being the indigenous organic aggregate of the stories about Tongan people's past life. As a being, in itself, analogously, it is a raft that drifts along the mighty river of time, stood the test of time and from being scrutinized, where all social realities were being loaded from the immemorial past to the present. It is to be known as Tongan historiography (if not Oceania), because Tongan's *arts* and *crafting*, *graphing* and *graffiti* activities and reminiscences were all accumulated to be the sources of knowledge for Tongan's pasts.

It suggests *Tala-Tukufakabolo* (TTF) as 'alter-native' to the Western way of historiography for re-viewing and re-creating Tongan versions of her history. Evidences to back up the stated argument are drawn from the surviving legacies of the past ancestors realized in present society as the four-partite *Tu'i Tonga* lineages - as embodiments. Further there is also associated the tangible material culture with the oral intangible narratives of Tonga's remembered pasts (as records). More also, TTF is the grafted and "re-presentation" of the Tongan past¹¹⁵ in primary and secondary sources produced by outside scholars. *Tala-Tukufakabolo* is the vast storehouse of 'what is history' as E.H. Carr's terms it, of the 'historian's dialogue with the past' where the 'facts of the past',¹¹⁶ the above are only selected indigenous 'facts of history' upon which a line of thought or as an 'idea of history' as in Collingwood's term "form of thought"¹¹⁷ is to be presented.

This insiders' version aims to provide the inside story. It looks beyond the alleged colonial situation of Tongan minds and suggests alter-natives for the palangi framed concepts, views and thoughts. It sees to alter and shift the colonized insiders' views from the dominance of the outside colonizers in terms of historiography to re-present their case in its integrity, 'logic' of culture and 'spiral' philosophy and development. It seeks to present an independent view with greater autonomy as an appreciative functional complementation and supplementation to the scientific rational production of Tonga's history and not more.

¹¹⁴ See the aspiration about literature of Tonga history by 'Ana Maui Taufe'ulungaki as cited by Campbell, "A History Policy for Tonga." (2011), 31.

¹¹⁵ As in John Tosh's definition of history. John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods @ New Directions in the Study of Modern History*(London and New York: Longman Group Limited, 1991 (2nd edition)).

¹¹⁶ See Carr, *What Is History?: The George Macaulay Trevelyan Lecture Delivered in the University of Cambridge, January - March 1961*.

¹¹⁷ Collingwood, *The Idea of History*.

Should outsiders continue to produce the history of the colonized, it is seen here as a further perpetuation of colonial commoditizing and politicizing the indigenous values of the insider's people. It will also further consolidate, the fact which Linda Tuhiwai Smith emphasised as wipe off of a culture, of valuable sources of wisdom, and perhaps an "extermination or domestication" of a group of people from the face of the earth.¹¹⁸ Again, as Hau'ofa stated that 'autonomy cannot be attained through dependence' of one on another of the global peoples – thus emancipation of the colonizers from the colonized situation is doing real justice for each and every people of the globe.

The coinage and re-defining of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as history and historiography took place almost at the same time corresponding to the works of Collingwood and Carr cited earlier. While Collingwood and Carr wrestled with the questions of 'the Idea of History' and 'What is History' in the context of trying to make sense of the Victorian myth; H.M. Queen Salote, the Chairperson of the Tongan Traditional Committee at Nuku'alofa re-viewed and defined *Tala-Tukufakabolo* in the context of her trying to make sense of the Tangaloa myth and Tapu culture. It is hoped *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as *historio-crafting*, *historio-graphing*, and *historio-grafting* will, in a small way, contribute to better understanding of this Tangaloa tradition and Tapu culture. By this, I mean, the belief held by Tongan people that the first Tu'i Tonga 'Aho'eitu was the Tapu person, and incarnation of sky-god Tangaloa 'Eitumatubu'a from whom the four-partite Tongan Ha'a Tu'i lineages descended and inherited the Tapu culture. E.E.V. Collocott on his "*Talaten*" of *Ko e Ta'u 'e Teau*, noted, "*Na'e nofo 'ena tama ko 'Aho'eitu, ko e Tu'i Toga, 'o talu ai mo e nofo 'a e hou'eiki ni 'ko e Tu'i mo 'otua' 'o hage ko e mau na'e fatu be hala ha Tu'i Toga fuoloa.*"¹¹⁹ Placing this *Tala-Tukufakabolo* argument in the context of that "*Tu'i mo 'otua*" context, it provides a more holistic framework for use as historical sources in another degree of interpretation. Dealings with such a culture where religious elements had been deeply entwined and intermingled in thoughts and interpretations are not easy. However, this attempt, is to follow up the study on Tonga's history that the Tongan pioneer

¹¹⁸ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. (1999), 26.

¹¹⁹ E.E.V. Collocott, ed. *Ko E Ta'u 'E Teau: Ko E Fai Ma'a E Kau Helohelo* (London and Beccles William Clowes and Sons Limited 1926). 5.

scholar 'Okusitino Mahina¹²⁰ attempted more than twenty years ago. Mahina's work was supported and further elaborated upon by another Tongan scholar Epeli Hau'ofa.¹²¹

This *Tala-Tukufakabolo* wishes to offer restorative justice to emancipate the colonized from the colonizers, the oppressed from the oppressors, participants from the observers, practitioners from the theorists, realists from the idealists, and 'practised-based' from the 'disciplined-based' in historiography. Methodologically, it takes an appreciative researcher's approach to present an inside story. The point of view is the inside people's view, from the *Kainangaefonua* grassroot 'down to earth' view of life from below. It uses the waves of the Pacific Ocean as the envisioned picture and analogy for describing *Tala-Tukufakabolo* which framed my claim for an Oralectic methodology of studying Tonga history and historiography. The work will be presented as a Course of study which encapsulates a Pedagogy of *Tala-Tukufakabolo*, not only history and historiography but also politics, economics, society, religion and Pacific education. Using education to emancipate one individual's colonized mind would be a small step towards the perpetual emancipation of a society as a whole, and may be across the world. It also envisions contributing towards a less colonized, oppressed, marginalized, suppressed population, which will theoretically result in a less colonial globalized world.

1.6. The Methodology.

Tala-Tukufakabolo operates on its Oralectic *Talanoa fananga* - orally telling stories,¹²² independent free-load cultural-logic of command. It is a *Ta-langa* – 'cut and build' as it walks along time, accounted only to one point - the waves of time. No one can control it, the whole global humanity only engaged with it, and retired when they passed on. It is orally oriented, cyclonic in its movement and tidalectic powerful and unstoppable. It is, however multi-dimensional in its

¹²⁰ Mahina, "The Tongan Traditional History *Tala-E-Fonua*: A Vernacular Ecology-Centred Historico-Cultural Concept."

¹²¹ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember." (2000), 457.

¹²² Emanuelle Paku Tausinga, "*Fananga* for Literacy Development in the Early Years of General Education," in *Vaka Pasifiki Conference*, ed. et al. Mo'ale 'Otunuku(Nuku'alofa, Kingdom of Tonga: Institue of Education, IOE - USP Tonga, 2014).

nature.¹²³ It is spiral in its philosophical orientation¹²⁴ as it obeys the tick of every second of Time. As it moved from its very beginning, it could not be controlled by any outside pursuits or agenda. It walked with time and Time in my own view is the beat of God's breath.

From my insular view of this whole organic aggregate of *corpus logus* – as body of narratives reality, I may be biased, but I am only claiming its realities from my grassroot corner of life as pedagogy (for teaching, learning and presentation) of a Tongan worldview. As a 'story-telling', Tausinga suggested, it could strategically be used as "Literacy Development in the Early Years of General Education"¹²⁵ and in my view, it could also be used for 'Numeracy development' as the PRIDE Project suggested.¹²⁶ We need to present our literacy and numeracy in our own indigenous way. Again, quoting Hau'ofa's statement, "autonomy cannot be achieved through dependence".¹²⁷ Methodologically, my presentation may not exactly follow the logic of the Western way of teaching, learning, and presentations in terms of logic, theory and arguments. The reader may demand a high level of clarity in English language formality. My English expression may appear ungrammatical and outside the logic of Western thought. Though, I acknowledge the fact that Kolo suggested a "fruit salad" view.¹²⁸ However, I try to follow the logic of crafting, graphing and grafting this *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as Oralectic method along time. Repetitions of ideas occur only to simulate the spiral drive of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* down-turn cycle (God-human-land-sea) and lineal (generational) movements with time as it enriches and recollects all realities of human life. One may find in its *Talanoa* and *Ta-langa* an admixture of dialectical questions and answers. Rather, it presents the case in the context of the biblical claim that: (i) the global world is the creation of a Living God. (ii). The global human and material world had been the embodiment of the Creator's Words. (iii) Retrospectively, looking back to the past – one could be able to read how the global

¹²³ I borrow this expression of "multi-dimensionality" from Tongan Professor Sitaleki Finau, a Health scholar and prolific writer on Pacific Health Studies and Tongan people's health. See Setaleki 'A Finau et al., "*Fakaui of the Pacific Peoples: United We Stand Divided We Fall*," in *Talanoa Rhythms: Voices from Oceania*, ed. Nasili Vaka'uta(Massey University: Masilamea Press, 2011).; Setaleki 'A Finau, 2012.

¹²⁴ I borrow this 'spiral' form from Tongan scholars Epeli Hau'ofa, See Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember." (2000), 462.

¹²⁵ Tausinga, "*Fananga* for Literacy Development in the Early Years of General Education."

¹²⁶ G.R.(Bob) Teasedale and Priscilla Puamau, eds., *Educational Planning in the Pacific: Principles and Guidelines*(The University of the South Pacific The Pride Project, 2005).

¹²⁷ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember."

¹²⁸ F O Kolo, "Historiography: The Myth of Indigenous Authenticity," in *Tongan Culture and History: Papers from the 1st Tongan History Conference Held in Canberra 14-17 January, 1987*, ed. P Herda, J Terrell, and N Gunson(Canberra: The Journal of Pacific History, 1996). 1.

world had been an all-time embodiment and re-creation of the Creators Words in various local contexts and settings, which is here addressed from my Tongan context as *Tala-Tukufakaholo*.

Hence, *Tala-Tukufakaholo* ontologically en-versioned it; as a raft (kalia TTF.) drifting freely upon the waves of the Pacific Ocean, loading and unloading its cargo, and is not controlled by any outside forces. It rather drifts with time steering forward by the South-Pacific trade winds, organically aggregating facts of human life in the Tongan context of the Tangaloa myth of *Tu'i-Tonga Tapu* culture.

It attempts as much as possible to follow a 'cultural logic'¹²⁹ of Pacific English presentation, different from the logic of the Western lineal modernist dialectic. This does not mean I have right to violate the rule of formal English writing, but it does mean however, that I want to maintain the integrity of Tongan wisdom as being passed down from the ancestors. I also want to do justice to the con-joined meaning of the TTF concept, its cultural logic and philosophy, a way in which some of my attempt to translate my thoughts into English expressions may not be grammatically correct.¹³⁰ I believe there is conflict in translating knowledge from Tongan to English and vice versa.¹³¹ That depicts differences in worldviews; the former is 'belief-based' and the latter is 'reason based' knowledge and worldview. That gap between languages is, in my view, comprises the heart of "education" – in terms of transformation of wisdom and knowledge from one medium to another.

Thus, I want to maintain the expressions of what I found in my re-search into the past thoughts and views in the matrix of Tongan cultural belief-based logic-analysing them in the best possible way that agrees with the understanding of the Tongans past ancestors that is carrying on to today's society. To do that rather, it presents what the past had deposited in my experiences (being-

¹²⁹ See the definition of 'cultural logic' by the Catholic scholar Robert J. Schreiter, *The New Catholicity: Theology between the Global and the Local*, Faith and Culture Series (New York: Orbis Books, 1999). 21. See also the contextual application of the same in Paula Onoafe Latu, "Fakaongo and Tau'ataina: The Influences of the Tongan Traditional Religion, the European Civilization and Wesleyan Teachings on the Formation of Tongan Religious Identities." (Massey University, 2011).

¹³⁰ Let alone the fact that Tongan and English logic are different because of structural arrangement of the subject, verb and object. Tongan structural logic in my view is led by the verb rather than the subject. This means that what action is done is the focus of the logic rather than who does it.

¹³¹ I have always wished that any presentations of Tongan history be made in Tongan language, and ask for a translator to translate the speech simultaneously. The integrity of knowledge and realities needed be presented in the language it was developed. Translation of wisdoms and knowledge from one medium to another, is, in my view, the central issue of Global Education. When, I speak or write in English, I am accounting to the demands of the colonizers and submitted to them and disrespect my own ancestors who are the owners and custodians of the wisdom I am now presenting.

ontology) and my knowledge (epistemology), as I *Talanoa* – dialogue with the past and *Ta-langa* – cut facts and build history by association facts with surviving legacies purporting *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as meta-narrative and meta-knowledge. It envisioned a drift and surf upon the waves of Oceania, orally dialoguing with the ‘facts of past events’ from the *corpus logus* in an ‘undisciplined course’. In another level of interpretation, the presentation is a *talanoa* – story-telling form and a *ta-langa* – (*ta* – claim and a *langa* - demanding a respond) dialogue with the facts of the past through the available material evidences and the associated orality in Tongan context. The selected ‘facts from the past’ will become “facts of history”. Strategically, the facts are interpreted in a deeper level of cultural logic pertinent to the Tongan worldview of the *Tu’i-Tonga* and the national policy of “Tapu” culture. It spirally brings out what, in my view, may be hidden within the conceptual *corpus logus* to uncover a new dimension of the re-version of, and presenting not only a rationalized ‘form of thought’ but also practically a ‘way of life’ historiography.

1.7. The Cultural Philosophy and Logic: The Oralectic.

Holistically, I define History as ‘Her or His story’¹³² (human) and historiography in *Tala-Tukufakabolo* story-telling as a way of the *art-n-crafting*, *graphing* and *grafting* of social realities on human persons, hearts, minds, land, sea and space Oceanic environments of Tonga, (if not Polynesia), to encapsulate not only the mind of the past ancestors, but also the practical ways of people’s struggling to survive life in the remote past. It is hoped that abiding with this Pacific cultural logic of presentation, it maintains my own terms of philosophy and ‘cultural logic’ (in opposition to ‘power politic’) of trying to do justice to the logic of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* and be true to the people under study and the needs of the society today. I may appear disrespectful in some way, however, honesty to *Tala-Tukufakabolo* itself is first and foremost – hearing the voices embodied and con-joined within and valuing its messages are the mandate.

I re-viewed the work of Scottish Christian historian David Bebbington *Patterns of History*.¹³³ He outlined the 5 major schools of historiography as follows; “Cyclical, Judaeo-Christian, Progressive, Historicism, and Marxism”, to which I add the “Spiral” pattern of philosophy. This “spiral” pattern of philosophy is based upon how *Tala-Tukufakabolo* aggregated sky-words-related values, human rational values and land-based practiced values as it travels upon time. I use spiral to mean a combination of all the 5 thoughts argued by Bebbington, but outstandingly the ‘lineal’ and ‘cyclical’

¹³² I borrow this definition from Fangailupe Tukutau, STC. Tonga.

¹³³ Bebbington, *Patterns in History: A Christian Perspective on Historical Thought*. 17-20.

combined to form the ‘spiral’. The cyclical down turning of the motion began with words from the supernatural that was originally embodied as human persons who became the ancestors and who through prophets passed down the received words through generations of the ages, epochs and places to date. Its journey reached this isolated island of Tonga (950AD) through a man who was believed to be a sky-related-god and was accommodated on land by a physical being. That first touch made both the land Tapu and the first offspring as Tapu person, is here, viewed as the origination of the *Ma’itaki* and later the *Mobeofo* practices in Tonga history by way of *Fanongonongo Tokoto*-cohabitation.

This is how *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as oral cycle moved lineally with time, and its cyclical down turn formed the intangible oral form which had been practically embodied, lived and practised by successive generations in “different times” and in “many diverse manners”, as according to the biblical text of the thesis.

The surviving physical world accommodated the received *logos* words into the intangible world of orality, consciousness and communications, and embodied in human forms, beliefs, minds and experiences. Personal interactions in the human world in turn re-created the words, to further its spiral turning into the tangible world, physical material culture of the people, land, sea, and all. *Tala-Tukufakabolo* holistically encapsulates all - the people, land, sea, culture, the stories and the beliefs as evidences of the past people’s life. It all backed up their turns to complete the cycles of time as it moved in space. This whole cycle of Oralectic turns is in continuous progressive patterns, engaged with human generations along time, and remained so in the global world towards the *kilukilua*¹³⁴-unforeseen future.

The presentation of this thesis may not logically follow the lineal, straight forward nuance and the eloquence of Western English and modernist expressions. The third person structure of proper English to maintain their objective and distant view point makes another problem of concealment in writing. The third person usage in English may be related to the *beliaki*- metaphoric usage in Tongan language. The kind of English expression used in this thesis may appear un-grammatical to the view of *palangi* in some sense. I have tried to present my case in the Tongan way of logical thinking and tried to express it in proper syntax of the English language-only to convey my thoughts and formally present my argument. I do that because my Tongan logical meaning should be central in this whole thesis argument. Further, I must do justice to the concept *Tala-Tukufakabolo*

¹³⁴ Kilu is the highest numerical counting of the Tongan numeracy. When Kilukilua is pronounced, it points to the eternal sphere which is the realm of God. Kaha’u Kilukilua means Gods hands hold the future.

which is the *corpus logus* of Tongan *being* and *knowledge*.¹³⁵ I am aware that the logic of English syntactical expression does not appear to be compatible with Tongan logical structure. In my view, Tongan language is closer to the Hebraic logical structure (verb+subject+object)¹³⁶ and the English logical structure (subject+verb+object) is closer to the Greek language structural orientation. The presence of some Hebrew terms in Tongan language may be a clue to the antiquity and origin of the Tongan people.¹³⁷ Here I refer to the terms; *Tapu*, *Ei*, *Alaa*, and the word *Tonga* is written in the Bible, in the Book of Genesis 13.1-3.¹³⁸ Hence some of my English expressions appear ungrammatical but that is, in my view, when the logic of Tongan language clashes with the logic of English syntax. The Tongan local syntax is closer to Hebrew than Greek. My presentation may be classified with the Pacific historian Crocombe view of the islander's presentation as "undisciplined."¹³⁹ From an inside view, I use the first-person viewpoint to *Talanoa* from the inside position, where the past is being subjectively buried and deeply embedded within my *manatu*-memory, *a'usia*-experience, and *loto*-heart.¹⁴⁰ That way also, may be related to how the Tongan

¹³⁵ It is just unfortunate that parameters for PhD studies must always be done in the English language and to be examined by criterias set forth by English speaking examiners. I am representing the marginalized learners of the Pacific societies who have been failed only because they cannot write in proper formal English. Majority are stigmatized as failed and under-achieved by institutions because they cannot use formal English. This colonization prevails only in English colonized countries whereas German, French, Japanese and China it is possible to offer it in their own language. I am anticipating a day when students of PhD are given the freedom to present their research in their own language. With Tongan language there are enough Tongan academics and examiners who could read and examine theses written in Tongan.

¹³⁶ Similarity can be drawn between Hebraic construction in Biblical Hebrew Bible and Tongan language as in Genesis 1.1: (*Beresheeth bara Elohim Aleph-Taf ha shamayim v-et ha'eret.*) translated "In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth." which translates into Tongan logical structure as '*I he kamata'anga, na'e fakatupu 'e he 'Otua 'a e ngaahi langi mo mamani.*' (Time+verb+subject+object). See Rabbi Moshe Yoseph Koniuchowsky, ed. *Restoration Scriptures True Name Edition*, Your Arms to Israel (Baltimore: Your arms to Yisrael Publishing, 2004). 1.; See also Moulton's translation, *Ko E Tohi Tapu Katoa* (Suva: The Bible Society of the South Pacific, 1966).

¹³⁷ I am indebted to Tongan scholar and 'Tangata Ta Fotunga' (stone sculpture) Filipe Tohi for his study of Tongan indigenous arts and crafts suggesting some Hebrew elements in Tongan arts, language and culture. He is known in Auckland for Tongan art of binding with coconut Kafa - sennit at Fale Pasifika at University of Auckland.

Filipe Tohi, "Talanoa" Auckland 10 July, 2013. See his artworks in Sopolomalama Filipe Tohi, *Atatouliliu*, 2012. Tongan arts., 420mm x 300. No'o Fakataha - Mangere Arts centre Nga Tohu O Uenuku.

<http://www.tautai.org/artist/sopolomalama-filipe-tohi/> (accessed 26 03 2015).

¹³⁸ See Moulton's Translation, *Ko E Tohi Tapu Katoa*.

¹³⁹ Crocombe, "Trends in Pacific Thoughts: The Last 50,000 Years and the Next 100."

¹⁴⁰ Albert Wendt, "Inside Us the Dead" in *Lali: A Pacific Anthology* ed. Albert Wendt (Auckland Longman Paul 1980).

scholar Sitiveni Halapua defined his “Talanoa” concept as “speaking from the heart”.¹⁴¹ I recall the old lady, whose testimony upon which the *Titanic* film was produced, something similar to this statement; “the heart of a woman is like a deep ocean.”¹⁴² *Tala-Tukufakabolo* is deeply buried within the hearts of the people (of the global society) who live on to today, and where the realities of the past could be drawn. This claim may be related to Samoan scholar Albert Wendt work, “Inside us the Dead”.¹⁴³

As a contextual presentation, the thesis follows the spiral pattern of the Pacific wave of English expression. This is encompassed in Thaman’s definition of Pacific Education as ‘worthwhile learning’ in the [tripartite] framework of the ‘non-formal’, the ‘informal’ and the ‘formal’ nature of expressions of social realities of the people of Oceania. I am indebted to Thaman and her tripartite definition of the term ‘Education’ in the Tongan context. It corresponds well with my tripartite definition of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as *Tala* – orality (as the non-formal undisciplined learning), *Tuku* – embodied (the informal learning by fixing and forming), and *Fakabolo* - re-creation of realities (the formal learning through a system or discipline).

In the Tongan context of ‘multidimensionality’ of *beliaki* – metaphoric expression, there are many layers of meanings, which invites levels of interpretations and strata of thoughts which used symbols of cultural core values. I do this by dialogically inter-mingling my own thoughts and ideas, (back-forth rolling in a (somewhat) cyclically spiral pattern) with past facts and indigenous reasoning of cultural values, merged with metaphorical symbols of Tongan cultural nuance and eloquent expressions, and a drifting with the footsteps of the ancestors in thoughts, language, land, and culture. I envision a swim and or a surfing upon the waves of the Tonga-deep looking onto the wealth of the deep (past) moana - the ocean of “facts of the [Tongan] past”, where, I as a researcher, can only select certain to become “facts of history” for this particular pursuit. However, the vastness of the wide Pacific Oceania represents the vastness of the untapped facts of the past awaiting to be explored, interpreted and articulated for Tongan (Pacific) historiography.¹⁴⁴ This is what is to be understood in this whole thesis as Oralectic methodology - the surfing upon the

¹⁴¹ S Halapua, "Talanoa-Talking from the Heart," in *SGI Quaterly*(Talanoa & Development Project, 2007).; "Walking the Knife-Edged Pathways to Peace," in *Inaugural Public Lecture of the Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara Friendship Foundation*(Suva: Talanoa & Development Project, 2003).

¹⁴² I borrowed this statement from the film “Titanic”.

¹⁴³ Wendt, "Inside Us the Dead." (2000) 35-42.

¹⁴⁴ The researcher is swimming upon the deep ocean of the facts of the past fishing for facts of history for one’s own purpose.

waves of the deep ocean of orality in spiral philosophic development of *bearing the enjoined words, valuing the stories – which embodies, and simultaneously re-creates* – to be the contemporary embroidered *Tala-Tukufakabolo*. As we move on with time, we hear and value its wealth, we weave, sew, and articulate, yet continuing towards the unknown future.

I *fakaTapu* - salute and respectfully honour the following *palangi* scholars; H.E. Maude, Ron Crocombe and Steward Firth who have worked with the Pacific people and were able to identify the ontological differences in the seeds of their epistemology wherefrom their ultimate intellectual needs arise. They noticed this oral aspect of Pacific learning as an alter-native to the dominant. I also acknowledged the efforts of the named Pacific scholars who have produced their versions of history before me. I wished you may hear and value my *Talanoa*- storytelling and *Ta-langa*- ‘cut and build’ of this *Tala-Tukufakabolo*. The statement of Pacific historian Derryck Scarr, who, warned the readers in his “Introduction” to Tongan scholar Futa Helu’s work *Critical Essays* to “expect the unexpected”.¹⁴⁵

I anticipate that this *Tala-Tukufakabolo* may be granted a small space in academia, and may offer a complement to the outsider’s *graphing* of history and documented “form of thoughts’. As a complement, it offers both a ‘form of thought’ and a ‘way of life’. The summary of the work in the end suggests pedagogy of (teaching and learning) Tonga history and a course of study of *Tala-Tukufakabolo*. This work will be suggested to the Tonga Ministry of Education and Pacific tertiary institutions for further examination, criticisms and evaluation. A summary of the thesis is given at the end. Appreciatively and co-operatively however, in a communal Pacific way of learning, I was thinking of leaving the conclusion of this work to be drawn by the Tongan *kaunatua*-elders, the community, the people, teachers, learners, and the whole Pacific and global society. I cannot boast that I know anything about this reality of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* in historio-graphical terms. However, I am in the same situation as an anonymous statement which says, “One does not write because one understands, but in order to understand.” I *Talanoa* and invite a *Ta-langa* sharing of stories through these pages, not that I understand it fully, but in the course of my *Talanoa* and *Ta-langa* writing I learn more, and more. I hope the same applies to all readers of this thesis. I hope, as you begin reading you will hear the voices of the suppressed, marginalized and the colonized and engage in this *Talanoa* process and envision a *Ta-langa* for yourself and how such a phenomenon works in your own culture for liberation.

¹⁴⁵ I F Helu, *Critical Essays: Cultural Perspectives from the South Seas*(Canberra: The Journal of Pacific History 1999).

My challenge is that we engage to further *art* and *craft*, *graph*, and *graft* our own *Tala-Tukufakabolo* from our points of view. We can all offer our *Talanoa* to present generations of Tonga, (if not Oceania, and globally) so that all may understand the subject matter more, and the unanswered questions of our being intellectually colonized, intellectually scrutinized and mentally controlled by the dominant strategy of the Western historiography become entwined. *Tala-Tukufakabolo* calls to appreciatively offer an alter-native to that dominant. For methodology analysis, **Historio-art-and-crafting**, **Historio-graphing**, and **Historio-grafting** had led *Tala-Tukufakabolo* to propose as an alter-native *graffiti* - grafting of history.

CHAPTER TWO: *Tala-Tukufakaholo: The Motivation.*

2.1. Motivation of the Journey

Tau'ataina ko e lava'anga 'o e fatongia mo e ma'u'anga ivi ki he ikuna 'i he ngaue, ako mo e mo'ui.

Freedom drives one to fulfil obligations in duties and power for success in life and education.

Jiosaia Latu, (Talanoa, Mu'a, Tongatapu, March, 1970.)

Freedom drives one to fulfil all obligations in life. History is a self-driven story freely received from predecessors to drive one's life to success in the way most pertinent to one's beliefs, culture and goals in life. This thesis advocates the annexation of Tongan history and historiography to the conventional research, writing and teaching of history in Pacific studies. The intention that strengthens my case is that Tongan and Pacific students and people have their own versions of their life and given the freedom to freely express their self-driven story, independent of one telling their own story for them will lead to bountiful successes in research, history and education. Evidences to support my argument will be drawn from the ongoing attempts by a great number of Pacific scholars and historians who have argued a paradigm shift.

I share in this introduction my objectives, purposes, and motivation. I sketch my approach to the research, the scope of my investigation and the limits that bound the central proposition in the topic I am arguing.

2.2. The motive sets the aim.

It has been my ultimate wish that Tongan (or any other) people continue to live as free people and express themselves in the way most pertinent to their belief, culture of living and goal in life. But why Tongan? Why their beliefs? Why culture of living? And why goal in life? All of them are philosophical questions that all human beings question at some point in their lives.

I am proud of growing up as a Tongan, on the land and cradle of the Tangaloans, who migrated to this island with the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga system of polity and culture of Tapu ethos as means of inter-relationships. That Tongan culture motivated my life. Being Tongan was not something that I chose, but my ancestral Tangaloans (Polynesian) heritage bred me to be of the Tongan stock. Beliefs in the past and historical values directed my way to reach thus far, and the culture of living a free life on the historic spot of Fekitetele in Vava'u, and Mu'a, Tongatapu. These are the places where I grew up and that motivated my thoughts, aspirations and wellbeing to pursue this current endeavor at this point of my life. In a narrower context, my father and mother are from Mataika,

Vava'u and Tongamama'o, Niuafo'ou, with a history that goes back to Takalaua in the fifteenth century (1450 AD).¹⁴⁶ My great grandmother is of the house of Haveatuli the son of Takalaua, half-brother of Kau'ulufonua Fekai, who was governor of Vava'u in 1500 AD, and a great grandfather of Haveatungua of Tungua, Ha'apai.¹⁴⁷ In the wider context, however, the whole history of Tonga as according to archaeological findings by Canadian Professor David Burley goes back 3000 years ago.¹⁴⁸

Tongan history and historiography is indebted to the durability of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as a being (in ontological term) in itself, and a source of knowledge (epistemological term) on its own. I lived with my elders who passed on to me the wisdom of the past, that had been successively passed down as stories from generation to generation, graphing social realities onto memories, crafting blood relationships within genealogical ties, and grafting DNA and personal identities, through human re-generations and oral stories throughout the ages. These practices were all done with respect to only one thing in a holistic sense; their reverence to their gods, nature and their ancestors. To be Tongan was to be heavily imbued with *Tala-Tukufakabolo* - heritage, strict *Tapu* rituals and *fatongia*-obligation to fulfil for the society. Thus, I see in these characteristics a wealth of wisdom, knowledge and way of life that was passed down to be lived, thought of and treasured. By living it, I know "who I am" in terms of time and place (identity). By thinking about it, I know "why I am" here at this point of time historically (historic being). By treasuring it, I believe I am doing justice to my ancestors, my environment and my God, the center point of holism this thesis is arguing. (Holistic nature of living).¹⁴⁹ This thesis should contain my aspirations, my motivation and my goal in life.

The holistic way of living life in a village setting may be illustrated in this personal story from my childhood. I am getting on in years at 60+ now, but I remember going around with a group of boys in my village of Mataika, Vava'u singing Christmas songs for entertainment and to invite families of the village to give us left over food from the feasting of the day for a boys and girls' food party in the end. It was a tradition of the island which is practiced by youths of almost every

¹⁴⁶ See Appendix 4, the comparative list of the "Contemporary titles holders in Tonga" where the 24th TT. Kau'ulufonua Fekai is dated to 1450AD in I C Campbell, *Classical Tongan Kingship*(Nuku'alofa: 'Atenisi University, 1989).42.

¹⁴⁷ David V Burley, "Traditional History,"(Canada: Simon Fraser University, 2006).

¹⁴⁸ David V Burley et al., "Nukuleka as a Founder Colony for West Polynesian Settlement: New Insights from Recent Excavations (<Burley Et Al 2010[1].Pdf>)," *Journal of Pacific Archaeology* 1, no. 2 (2010).; Burley, "Tongan Archaeology and Tongan Past, 2850-150 B.P.."

¹⁴⁹ Taufe'ulungaki, "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?."

village in Vava'u at Christmas time. Families were keen to prepare nice food and have fun when the boys come to sing. One of the songs that I remember has a part that goes;

Na'e tau 'a 'Amelika mo Siapani ki he suvenia,
Ka e tau 'a 'Tonga mo Fisi ki he Kololia (Kapa ika).

America and Japan went to war for a souvenir
But Tonga and Fiji went to war for glory (tin fish).

It happened that some of the boys were singing the last line of the song rightly as “glory” whereas, other boys sang “tin fish” “corn beef” or otherwise, meaning a begging to give us tin fish or some food in return for our singing. We got what we asked for in the end and we had a big food party where all youths of the village were invited to attend. We sat down in the middle of the night and shared what we collected from the families in friendly peaceful way. Sometimes we had money distributed equally among us. It was a traditional way of welcoming each and every child and youth back to the village, after a year of being away in the main island of Tongatapu for schooling. We got to know each other better and stayed connected as children of the village.

This island way of life was of *Tala-Tukufakabolo*-passed down to us from ancestors. Older generations did it when they were young, and when we grew up we did it too. It was a way of ensuring that older generations can still value their children and enjoyed what they did on Christmas days. Most importantly, it was getting the younger generations involved in doing something in a collective sense, to entertain the older people, and to be involved in the traditional heritage, for younger generations. Doing something freely was offering to do justice to the legacy that was passed on to us by our ancestors. Such tradition had been practiced in the islands for over a century as we were told by our parents. It ensured solidarity, harmony and working together for a social common cause. That was free island life, where we express freely what we thought when we were young. Our cause was supported by our parents for good cause. Only in that way did our *Tala-Tukufakabolo* make sense to us, as children. With that impasse of my childhood, I am here now begging the Tongans/Pacificans to value, and the world to accept our *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as our history and way of graphing history into our hearts, memories, and life in a free way of living. Hence, I remember my grandfather's advice for me in Mu'a, three years before he died at 85 (1889-1974), which leads this chapter;

Tau'ataina ko e lava'anga 'o e fatongia mo e ma'u'anga ivi ki he ikuna 'i he ngaue, ako mo e mo'ui.

***Freedom drives one to fulfil obligations in duties and power for success in life and education.*¹⁵⁰**

Jiosaia Latu, (Talanoa, Mu'a, Tongatapu, March, 1970.)

My grandfather was a scholar, a primary school head teacher¹⁵¹ and a Wesleyan missionary. In 1970, he shared that advice to me and I continue to treasure it. In fact, it has proved to be true. Doing things in a free way of life ensures success. Living in bondage is not a good life. Depending on others to do things for us is not a good thing either. For many years, we Tongans have been relying on others to tell us who we are, what we are and why we are here? Tongan scholar Epeli Hau'ofa asserted; "We cannot continue to rely heavily on others to do it for us, because autonomy cannot be attained through dependence."¹⁵²

I recall 'Ana Maui Taufe'ulungaki's aspiration in her article published in *Matangi Tonga* as cited by Ian C. Campbell stated;

I have always felt it a great pity that a country which purports so much pride in its history, traditions and achievement does not seriously induce writing and research in Tongan history, particularly by its young people. While I am all in favour of encouraging research and writing on Tongan history by both Tongans and non-Tongans, after reading these two books, I would like to see more Tongan scholars writing Tongan history as seen through the eyes of Tongan themselves. (*Matangi Tonga* 5 (2), (March-April, 1990), 44).¹⁵³

Looking at us through our own eyes is an experience itself. It is an adventure of re-discovery of oneself and your community, and far beyond to your ancestral roots. Telling your own story yourself is an exercise worth doing. While we have always been looking, and getting to know ourselves through objective views, it is appropriate to view ourselves through a subjective lens and complement the two.

¹⁵⁰ In our grass house one evening in March, 1970 at Tatakamotonga Mu'a, my grandfather Jiosaia Latu, the retired head teacher and Wesleyan church minister Jiosaia Latu then 81 years of age imparted to me this advice. I was 15 yrs old then and was at year 10 at the Tonga Government College, Manamo'ui, Tonga. I have treasured these words of my grandfather in my heart ever since. It is the motivation for my social and religious fatongia, power for my educational journey and my whole life.

¹⁵¹ Jiosiah Latu was asked by Tungi Halatuituia to be Head teacher and started the Government Primary School at Tatakamotonga, Mu'a in 1910. He changed career sometimes in 1930's and worked as faifekau Siasi 'o Tonga Tau'ataina (Free Church of Tonga minister and retired from his last parish in Kolonga, 1960.

¹⁵² Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember." (2000), 454.

¹⁵³ Cited in Campbell, "A History Policy for Tonga." (2011), 31.

Nevertheless, I understand that a subjective view of oneself and a vision for a freedom of expression of, and an independent style of writing and presenting history and historiography must be disciplined. And to argue this framework as an “alternative” (in Taufe’ulungaki’s term) to the conventional in the re-viewing, writing and teaching of Pacific history, one has to use Nasili Vaka’uta’s “alter-native” views in his terms of reference:

Alter-native (that is, using *natives* insights to *alter* existing knowledge and modes, and to *alter native insights* if they tend to serve the interests of colonizers/outsideers rather than the colonized/locals)....¹⁵⁴

Though Vaka’uta argued the above for Bible reading, it is appropriate to apply it to Tongan history and historiography. For a paradigm shift to be effective, the worldview and perspective of the people under study must be altered from accounting to the colonizers, to accounting to the locals and the colonized people under study. In this way, the *Tala-Tukufakabolo* framework encapsulates best, the Tongan way of teaching, learning and knowing and through which the next generation are better informed of their being, in regards to their knowledge of history and historiography in holistic terms.

2.3. Foundation.

Having stated my grandfather’s advice as the foundation of my argument, I highlight the foundation of the dominant conventional history since the Father of History Herodotus of Greece introduced the scientific method of writing history in the 5th century BC. As the foundation for the writing of history, he simply asked a question; looked for answers from available sources, and weighed the best possible answer to his question as his conclusion. Herodotus’ method of investigation in my view was probably guided by the Greek definition of the term *‘istoria* (historia) meaning an action of (*vb*), “an inquiry” that aimed at attaining a particular knowledge, which demanded a conclusion to be made in the end. With the invention of logical deductions and inductions by Greek philosophers by way of “intense questioning”, the historical exercise was engulfed by the power of reasoning the facts of history and the rationalization of social realities. Thus, interpretation of facts by rationalization came to be part of the founding strategy of Historiography. It came to be more important when the British historian R.G. Collingwood addressed the question of “The Idea of History?”¹⁵⁵ and concluded it was “a form of thought.”

¹⁵⁴ Vaka'uta, "*Talanga: A Tongan Mode of Interpretation.*" (2011), 149.

¹⁵⁵ Collingwood, *The Idea of History*.

This was followed by another historian E. H. Carr who addressed the question of “What is history?”¹⁵⁶ Carr answered by arguing that History is a dialogue between the historian and his facts of history, which he has selected from the wide variety of the facts of the past. The rationalization and reasoning of facts became more dominant and history became more of a scientific exercise. In that way, in my view the truth of history was hijacked by rationalization of facts. I believe historians take facts as they see them from their origin or source and then manipulate those facts in their minds. (laboratory)¹⁵⁷ In this way, history (historiography) in my view, became a mental exercise, rather than an interpretation of facts in the context of the past, the culture, the logic of the people’s lives at the time, in order to arrive at a more proactive history that will independently portray an account or story under scrutiny. Documentation was also another key factor in this foundational development because whenever information was being documented, the document itself had power (over the orality) to be the truth no matter what. Once written and documented, it is fixed as the truth that no one can deny. Thus, a weak but documented argument would be seen as superior to oral evidence, only because it is written. The English tradition attributes more authority to a written document or testimony rather than to oral evidence.

Instead of giving a fair account of what happened in the past, in oral and documented sources, it is inevitable that the interpreter values the documented facts more than oral evidences. After researching, collecting, and teaching history and methods of historiography for more than thirty years, I felt the burden of our own history, culture and knowledge as being colonized, suppressed, marginalized at the expense of teaching the colonizers histories. We have only known about ourselves through the eyes, mouths and minds of others.

After all we have our own history, our indigenous culture, our heritage and genealogies, tales of the land, classical kingships and with monuments, chants, landscapes, and artefacts waiting to be rediscovered. The Hawaiian scholar Robert Borofsky on his “An Invitation” stated;

How does one make sense of the Pacific’s varied past? Materials abound for the project: There are writings, memories, chants, artifacts, and landscapes waiting to be discovered (and rediscovered).¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Carr, *What Is History?: The George Macaulay Trevelyan Lecture Delivered in the University of Cambridge, January - March 1961*.

¹⁵⁷ This view about historian’ laboratory is mentioned in E.H. Carr’s work. Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Robert Borofsky, "An Invitation," in *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History*, ed. Robert Borofsky (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000). 1.

I agree with Borofsky that it would be equally difficult for a Pacific islander and non Pacificans to be able to make sense of these materials. But with the Pacific Islander's advantages of knowing the language, having a better understanding of the oral culture and familiarity with the items and location, it would be more possible for a Pacific Islander to present a version of the materials. This claim is supported by Australian historian Elizabeth Wood-Ellem who stated:

I hope that Tongan scholars will take advantage of their fluency in the language and their family connections to use oral sources before they all disappear, particularly those of Ha'apai, Vava'u and Niua.¹⁵⁹

But, the non-Pacific should also be given a chance and in the end of the exercise, I ask for a complement of the two, to make a holistic view of the whole. Thus, is the aim of this *Tala-Tukufakabolo* framework. It does not seek to promote a view on its own independent of the conventional, but rather seeks to complement the two. It does not, I am afraid, for this alternative may commit the same sin of the conventional tendency of suppressing the others. Thus, and it is the main underpinning of this thesis argument, we ask for the autonomy and freedom of expressing freely our history, through our own eyes, and orality to be complementary with the views of the non-Pacificans for a holistic view of Tonga history and historiography.

If we continue in this colonial climate, through suppression and marginalization of the Pacific oral history and historiography the wisdom of our people in the past may lead to what Tuhiwai Smith stated, "way of wiping of a culture and a history from the face of the earth."¹⁶⁰

In the abstract of this thesis I quoted a statement of the Middle-Eastern scholar Edward Said (ES) in an interview by Robert Borofsky (RB) titled; "Postcolonial" Politic-A View from afar (Middle-east)";

R.B: Some scholars suggest people in the Third World have tended to construct their social identities around Western notions of nationhood and, as a result, have become entwined within Western hegemonic frameworks even when opposing them.

E.S: I am not sure I agree with that....It is another example of the West imposing itself on others. Or take the question of whether or not people

¹⁵⁹ Elizabeth Wood-Ellem, *Queen Salote of Tonga: The Story of an Era, 1900-1965*(Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999; repr., 1999). X.

¹⁶⁰ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous People*(London: University of Otago Press, 1999).

have a history. Everybody has a history. I would say to be human is to have and to make history. That is what distinguishes us from animals.¹⁶¹

As Tongans, we have our own history and that history has not been fairly re-viewed and studied to its depths. Its cultural heritage is referred to by Campbell himself,

Tongans possess historical knowledge of their own, transmitted orally and unrecorded, but which keeps alive a different historical tradition. This demotic tradition possesses a different content from the academic histories, sometimes offering alternative facts and interpretations, and sometimes simply being concerned with different things, such as the histories of particular titles, families, places and communities. This co-existence of demotic history is sometimes said to be a healthy thing, a counter-balance to the foreign-inspired and the foreign executed formal histories.¹⁶²

Further to this, I agree with Campbell's conclusion which states, "However, it cannot serve as a counter-balance, if it is preserved in a fragmentary way and is known only to a few. There are few opportunities to utilize this data in formal, professional histories."¹⁶³

This reality of co-existence in Tonga is true. I call it the double dynamic of worldviews – Tongan of demotic history and the *palangi* documented history. As we are talking about two communities; the conventional on the one hand and the Tongan oral history on the other hand, Linda Tuhiwai Smith says; "our lives and careers have interacted and intersected"¹⁶⁴ and that is to me what forms a community. Tuhiwai Smith again stated, "communities have a conversation together and then we eat." Perhaps that is where interactions and intersections are required. I for one, believe it is my *fatongia* to respond to Campbell's statement above with an alternative for that interaction and intersection for complements of the demotic history and the foreign-inspired and foreign-executed formal histories. It is also my *fatongia* to look for the alternative in the traditional history of Tonga a concept that can interact and intersect communities of *Palangi*-English led history and historiography and the Tongan led fragmented history and historiography and start that conversation.

¹⁶¹ Borofsky, ""Post Colonial Politics - a View from Afar (Middle East)-an Interview with Edward Said." 445-446.

¹⁶² Campbell, "A History Policy for Tonga." (2011), 31.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Drawn from Dr. Linda Tuhiwai Smith "Speech on Decolonizing Methodologies" at the Graduate Centre, CUNNY, New York.

Looking through the dictionary for the definition of this term “demotic” that Campbell used for Tongan oral history, I came to learn it includes; “idiom, parlance, talk, dialect, idiolect, mother tongue, native and vernacular, informal and broken English – and Pidgin English.”

Let me tell this story about missionaries working and how they tried to preach and make sense of the Gospel to different people with different languages in mission stations. I was a student at the University of Papua New Guinea (PNG) in 1982. I happened to be part of the family of Tongan missionary the Revd. Siosaia Tava and ‘Ana Tupou. On weekends, I played the guitar and sang at an evangelical outreach at the market in Port Moresby, while Revd. Siosaia Tava Tupou preached his sermon. PNG is a society where more than 700 hundred different languages are spoken. Pidgin English (a broken English dialect) was the common language and means of communication. One must use Pidgin English to communicate one’s message to the people. In most of his sermons, Tupou referred to the Pentecostal revival in ‘Tonga explaining it in Pidgin language as God’s intervention. In Pidgin broken English he envisioned that one day PNG would experience such divine intervention. One day we returned home after a market outreach preaching, one of his children named Samuel complained to his father about his broken English in his preaching. Tupou paused for a moment and replied to his children;

You know, I understand you all study proper and formal English at the university. With that formal English, you may be able to reach professionals and educated people in the world. But I use broken English Pidgin language, because only through that broken language, the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit make sense to these broken-souls people – who are at the grassroots, suffering the pain of colonization. In fact, the Spirit of God only came down to mend the life of people with broken souls.

Tupou’s children were convinced of the reason. But I was amazed at how such a statement was meaningful enough and make sense in terms of the Pentecostal revival in ‘Tonga, as it was God’s intervention to mend the hearts of those broken-souls people.

If there wasn’t anything important, logical, or reasonable in the demotic history of Tonga – and the co-existence of the double dynamic worldviews of Tongan and *Palangi* in Tongan politic, culture, and education, let me say – *Tala-Tukufakabolo* is our demotic broken English history. It had for many, many years, made great sense of our past, wisdom and identity to the cold and broken-souls people of our society,¹⁶⁵ who have been silenced in bewilderment by the

¹⁶⁵ This is one way of defining conversed soul – broken-hearted.

incomprehensiveness of the European and Asia colonization, marginalization and globalization in the Pacific.

As an alter-native to the conventional it is my *fatongia* - my role, not only as instructor of history and historiography for Tonga, but as my role as minister of the Methodist Christian tradition and theologian for the tiniest remaining kingdom in the world, whose people are so proud of her rich traditional history and heritage. It is my *fatongia* to comfort the broken-souls and suggest to the world to allow us space. We need that space to suggest to the next generation of Tongans, to re-view our colonial situation in history and historiography and study it through our own eyes as Taufe'ulungaki has suggested.

2.4. My purpose.

The primary purpose of this thesis is to acknowledge the colonial situation of the field of history and historiography in Tonga and suggest a re-view of it from an alter-native view point. The method I use is *Ta-langa* – cut and build for the better. I acknowledge the discussions of *Talanga* by Nasili Vaka'uta.¹⁶⁶ *Ta-langa* in my own terms of reference is a way of *Talanoa* – dialogue that invites the participation of all and not a monologue dominated by one or a few educated elites. All, are invited to *Ta* - cut in with a point and *Langa* – build up the *Fale Ako* – argument for learning. I apply the *Ta-Langa* method to the concept of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* tripartite format. I cut the concept in three and philosophically theorized its three compartments and their strength for the building up of the whole as a holistic framework. *Tala* is the first cut of the concept and it means “words”, “wisdom”, “stories”, “chronicle” or “narrative”, “information” being passed on from the predecessors to the latter. *Tala* con-joined the roots of orality, in the era of arts and crafting from immemorial time to the beginning of the scientific era which is the 5 century BC. I theorize *Tuku* – as the second cut for the build-up and it means “place upon”, “fixed”, or “engraved”, an “imprint” upon an object, person or thing. *Tuku* represents the era of scientific placing, fixing, and recording of information by way of documentation of realities on objects. It fixes the realities and information on something more concrete, and real but dead. Any information that is *Tuku* - imprinted upon such objects becomes dead and static. Anything *Tuku* – recorded in

¹⁶⁶ Vaka'uta, "*Talanga*: A Tongan Mode of Interpretation." (2011), 153.

this way must be re-invented, re-interpret to make it alive, and be interrogated to bring forth its life values.¹⁶⁷

I theorized the last cut of the concept *Fakabolo* – to mean a re-view, chronicle, or to re-create. In the context of freedom to view, narrate and create a part for the build-up *Fakabolo* stands for the merging together of two related realities, of the old and new, past and present, outsider and insider, all for the better. It also looks at the grafting of two or many parts for the better productive results of plant varieties and cultivar; of animal species and or of human's re-generations. It is merging of unrelated bloods for hybridization. Grafting takes the best of both parties and build on a hybrid for the better – a re-generation.

Through the *Ta*-and *Langa* method the fundamental roots of each dissected concept are connected for the *Langa* - build-up of the tripartite framework to make the whole. The whole is intersected and interacted to convey the will of the community it represents – the Tongan community. Through that *Ta-langa* method a conversation will start between the demotic history and the foreign-led histories and in the end of the conversation a meal will be served in the island way. A work well done is a meal well served in the Tongan way. We shall enjoy it all as a community as we eat in the *Fale nofo'anga* 'o *kainga* - house of the community as one holistic family when *Tala-Tukufakabolo* framework fulfils its task of amalgamating both: the demotic broken English history and the foreign led histories regime. The *Tala-Tukufakabolo* argument as we cut and build, is suitable as a *Fale Ake* – source for teaching and learning for all families of the Tongan community – the *Tu'i*, *Hon'eiki* and *Kainangaefonua*. As the Pacific saying goes: “My Tongan grass house is too small to accommodate you, but my heart is big enough to embrace you all.” *Tala-Tukufakabolo* is the heart of Tongan *Fatongia*, *Mo'ui mo Ake*, - Obligations, Life and Education respectively and it can heartily host the whole world to feel at home in its Tongan double-dynamic co-existing of demotic history and colonial historiography.

The time for moaning and groaning about colonization is over. We should walk on and walk strong to embrace the demotic and the foreign led histories under one wing of the *Tala-Tukufakabolo* framework. The oral and scientific elements of history and historiography can play their parts within it and both enrich the stories of our life in the future.

¹⁶⁷ This second point of fixing information on objects not only make living history dead but, is, in my view, the avenue where different interpretations at the dictates of perspectives bring in meanings that sometimes lead to manipulation of facts.

In the end, the *Tala-Tukufakaholo* framework connotes a grafting to be made of Orality and the science and documentation to produce a merged hybridized reality that makes a whole – for Tonga history and historiography. It is a being in its totality and a source of knowledge for future generation's advancement.

2.5. *Tala-Tukufakaholo* among other Cultures.

There are factors that limit the scope of building an argument for the alter-native in this thesis. The scope is determined by the working definition of the term as according to its contextual background, its causes and underlying laws, their meaning and motivation. Edward Said stated; “Everybody has a history.” But all races have their own terms of reference that dictates the nature, and scope of history and historiography for the people concerned. That point of reference determines the notion of the subject to be used, and the principles of law of its historiography to follow. Five notions of people's history will be re-viewed to help frame the discussion in this topic;

i. The Hebraic notion.

The term for history in Hebrew traditional culture is *toledoth* as in Genesis 2.4. “4 These are the generations of the heavens and the earth when they were created.” (NRSV). The Hebrew term *toledoth* means “generations” of the heavens and of the earth when they were created. The background of the term is spiritual and temporal. Thus, the origin of the whole generations of humanity in heavens and on earth is God. It follows that the laws associated with human generations possess a double dynamic nature of spiritual and temporal. The central core value of the term is that all generations of the heavens and earth are God's creation. Its historiography is based on genetic re-generations of the human species on earth as guided by God. The best example of this generational development in Hebrew culture as according to the word of God is manifested in Hebrew 1.1-4;

1 Long ago God spoke to our ancestors in many and various ways by the prophets, 2 but in these last days he has spoken to us by a Son, [a] whom he appointed heir of all things, through whom he also created the worlds. 3 He is the reflection of God's glory and the exact imprint of God's very being, and he sustains[b] all things by his powerful word. When he had made purification for sins, he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high, 4 having become as much superior to angels as the name he has inherited is more excellent than theirs. (NRSV).

The Hebraic notion of history is a *Tala-Tukufakaholo* in itself of the *Tala-'a-Kainga* – people's genealogical and generational connections as humanity as being related to the supernatural of the heavens.

ii. The Greek.

The Greek word for history is *istoria* which means “inquiry”/ “learned”. The Dictionary of Philosophy defines it as “ambiguously used to denote either (a), events or (b). records of the past.”¹⁶⁸ It follows from the same as well, that “historiography (q.v), is used for (b)” which is ‘the records of the past. Again’, it is also “ambiguous in denoting natural as well as human events, or records of either.” From the Hebrew nature of writing history in light of God’s actions, the Greek introduced the shift from belief in the gods for an explanation to the reasoning of realities. Forrest E Baird and Walter Kaufmann on their *Philosophic Classics: From Plato to Nietzsche*, noted that:

Something unusual happened in Greece and in the Greek colonies in Aegean Sea near 2,500 years ago,...the previous great cultures of the Mediterranean had used the mythological stories of the gods to explain the operations of the world and of the self, some of the Greeks began to discover new ways of explaining these phenomena. Instead of reading their ideas into, or out of, ancient scriptures or poems, they began to use reasons, contemplation, and sensory observation to make sense of the reality.¹⁶⁹

Until the 5th century BC the Father of History Herodotus introduced the first historical strategy for historical pursuit; it consisted of a question, an answer and the conclusion as drawn from the best possible answer. Tongan *Tala-Tukufakabolo* con-joined its *Tala-‘otua* the indigenous form of dialectic which is embraced in the story of one of the Tangaloa sky-god. A.H. Wood in his *History and Geography of Tonga*, documented the oral story about one of the gods.¹⁷⁰ One of which was *Tangaloa ‘Atulongolongo*, who turned into a plover and came down and hovered over the island of Ata. She found a *Fue* creeper plant *Ipomoea indica* (now known as *Fue ‘a Puaka*) or the common *Fue* on the coastal areas which is *Fue Kula – Ipomoea-pes-caprae*.¹⁷¹ grown over and which covered the island of Ata. The plover came down and pecked, nibbled and jagged on the base of the plant to leave pieces of stems on the ground. From these three stem crumbs grew out three worms to which She named them as ***Ko hai,? Ko Au! Ko Momo***. Judging from the given names to the three worms these three worms comprised the Tongan dialectic syllogisms of Kohai? – Who? Ko Au –

¹⁶⁸ Sigma Von Fersen, "History " in *Dictionary of Philosophy* ed. Dagobert D. Runes and 72 authorities (New Jersey Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1964). 127.

¹⁶⁹ Forrest E Baird and Walter Kaufmann, *Philosophic Classics: From Plato to Nietzsche* Philosophic Classics (New Jersey Prentice Hall 1997). 1.

¹⁷⁰ Alfred Harold Wood, *History and Geography of Tonga* (Victoria: Border Morning Mail, 1972). 5.

¹⁷¹ W.A Whistler, *Bishop Museum Bulletins in Botany, the Ethnobotany of Tonga: The Plants, Their Names, and Their Uses* ed. W.A Whistler, Bishop Museum Bulletin in Botany (Honolulu Bishop Museum Press 1991). 35.

I am! Ko Momo – I am the Crumb! Orderly organized in simple Herodotus form of investigative strategy for historical enquiry; – a question, an answer and a conclusion.

In my own observation, Tongans used these dialectical strategies in their speeches to derive facts from the past using the quest of *Ko hai?* to obtain *Ko Au!* – as *facts of history* to articulate a *Momo* – only a crumb, in humble terms for an occasion's speech. From the above, *Tala-Tukufakabolo* seems to claim a Greek element on its own way of dialectic from indigenous cosmological stories of *Tala-otua*. This philosophical syllogism, if I may be allowed to call it; is being used as method to generate and derive facts of history for cultural speeches in various cultural occasions (as I observed). This is, in my view the representation of the Greek form of inquiry in *Tala-Tukufakabolo*.

iii. The German

The German term for history is *Geschichte* which means “processes” of past events. Derived from the layers of a cross sectioned profile of a tree as one sees it from the side. John H. Arnold says *Geschichte* means those aspects of the past that “human beings commemorate and interpret....” in order to orient themselves about the character of temporal change and its effects on their own present and future.¹⁷² Hence, the definition of history as the study of social change to which Niel Gunson alluded to as; “...a discipline which arises directly out of the Western secular tradition and it is concerned with the recording and analysis of change in the context of Newtonian or post Enlightenment linear time”¹⁷³ seems to be of the German notion of history. Differently from the God related notion of Hebraic history and the methodology based ‘inquiry’ of the Greek to the secular based focus on social change, of the German, the contemporary usage of history may be leaning towards the German contribution to study the history of social change the world is now experiencing.¹⁷⁴ The German term for oral historiography study is evident in Tongan scholar ‘Okusitino Mahina who argued a Tongan *Weltanschauung* as his case of study stated;

The thesis examines Tongan traditional history, *tala-e-fonua*, a vernacular ecology-centred historico-cultural concept, handed down through generations by word of mouth. As a Tongan *Weltanschauung*, *tala-e-fonua* can be regarded as an indigenous account of the land and its people, a symbolised human landscape.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² John H. Arnold, *History: A Brief Introduction* (Reclam: Ditzingen, 2001).

¹⁷³ Gunson, "Tongan Historiography: Shamanic Views of Time and History." (1996), 12.

¹⁷⁴ See *ibid.* (1996), 12.

¹⁷⁵ Mahina, "The Tongan Traditional History *Tala-E-Fonua*: A Vernacular Ecology-Centred Historico-Cultural Concept." *l*ii.

The term Fakaholo in *Tala-Tukufakaholo* connotes an element of the processes in terms of *Fakaboloholo* – lineally chronological and walks along with time.

iv. The Latin

History in Latin means a “chronological record of past events”. This definition is believed to be one used in the English notion of history. In the context of the debate about whether island history be written by islanders themselves, Gunson from a Western secular tradition point of view noted as “...concerned with the recording and analysis of change....”¹⁷⁶ Thus, the Latin and English notion of history both represent well the Western view which focusses on studying and recording social changes in a chronological order. British historian John Tosh in his work; *The Pursuits of History: Aims, methods and the new directions in the study of modern history*, makes it clear in his definition of history which stated; “The word history carries two meanings in common parlance. It refers both to what actually happened in the past and to the representation of that past in the work of historians.”¹⁷⁷ *Tala-Tukufakaholo* differs in its oral orientation only. However, it tells of what actually happened in the past and passed down to form its representation in the life of the people, environment, and culture in the present time but not only in the historian’s view as John Tosh’s definition states.

v. Pacific.

Tala-Tukufakaholo in Pacific context.

Pacific cultures also have their version of history and historiography and it is very much related to the Tongan notion of history and historiography. I do not know whether the following I am presenting are notions of history in Pacific islands language and culture or rather the translation of my *Tala-Tukufakaholo* concept. I acknowledge the USP historian Max Quanchi and his team who attended the Pacific History Conference at the Victoria University of Wellington in 2011. They provided the following Pacific terms as equivalent of *Tala-Tukufakaholo*. In Fijian language, the term for indigenous history is – *Tukutuku*, and in Samoa – *Talatu’u fa’a solo*, in American Samoa – *Talatua mu’a*; whereas in French Polynesia – *Historie*, with Indo-Fijian – *Histri*; and with Tuvalu language – *Kadadinggowe*. With Papua and New Guinea – *Stori bilong bifo* (Pidgin), Solomon – *Taini bifo*; whereas in Kiribati – *Karaki ni Kawai*, and with Maori – *Karakia*.¹⁷⁸ Generally, the meanings of these terms are closely related in meaning to my *Tala-Tukufakaholo* concept, and, it

¹⁷⁶ Gunson, "Tongan Historiography: Shamanic Views of Time and History." (1996), 12.

¹⁷⁷ Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods @ New Directions in the Study of Modern History*. Vi.

¹⁷⁸ My apology if I have mistakenly noted some terms incorrectly, mis-placed or mis-spelled.

does indicate that it has its own version in the languages of Oceania, most notably the two Samoan and Fijian languages.

vi. Tongan.

The Tongan term for history as is argued in this thesis is *Tala-Tukufakabolo*. Its background is the human ancestral society, its orientation is oral and its law is said to be an evolutionary process from time immemorial with the ancestors of Tongan people. Its underlying laws are not written on papers, rather it is orally passed down from generation to generation, in a successive manner. *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as being and a source of knowledge itself, goes with time. No one can control it. It works independently from any factor except time. It walks with time, and it is supported by the associated events of human interactions, genealogies, landscapes, monuments and all heritage and past legacies in time and place. Its tripartite format connotes the three eras of the past oral *arts and crafting* period, up to the scientific *graphing* and reasoning of realities that began in 500BC. The last part represents the present time of *grafting* social realities and the re-creational *graffiti* ventures of this hybridizing era.

My whole argument of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* posits an alter-native framework for a holistic treatment of the Tongan notion of history and historiography is made in the context of the attempts by Pacific scholars to make a paradigm shift from the conventional to the alternative. I am referring *Tala-Tukufakabolo* in the context of the first Tongan scholar 'Okusitino Mahina who argued this case as *Tala-e-Fonua* in 1992.¹⁷⁹ Mahina's work was supported by another Tongan scholar Epeli Hau'ofa who stated, "...here in the making was a new Pacific historiography by an Oceanian scholar."¹⁸⁰ Hau'ofa signified the fact that;

The point at issue here is whether there are legitimate histories apart from mainline history. If there are, and I believe that there are, then our histories are as old as our remembered pasts.¹⁸¹

In answer to the above, Campbell had already stated that Tongans "possess historical knowledge of their own, transmitted orally and unrecorded, but keeps alive a different historical tradition,"¹⁸² known in Campbell's term as "demotic history" and co-exist with the "foreign-inspired and

¹⁷⁹ Mahina, "The Tongan Traditional History *Tala-E-Fonua*: A Vernacular Ecology-Centred Historico-Cultural Concept." (1992).

¹⁸⁰ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Past to Remember." (2000), 457.

¹⁸¹ Ibid. 458.

¹⁸² Campbell, "A History Policy for Tonga." (2011), 31.

foreign-executed formal histories.” A German website asks: Why Oral History? it answered: “The alternative is not: witnesses *or* conventional teaching models. Only a method mix can lead to satisfactory results.”¹⁸³

In view of the different notions of history noted above, I opt to believe the German suggestion that, “only a method mix can lead to satisfactory result.” *Tala-Tukufakabolo* is not only as Damon Salesa’ “The Pacific in Indigenous Times”, as “a dimension on its own”,¹⁸⁴ but, has the indigenous, the medieval and the modern all under its arm. This I mean the heavenly and the temporal ancestral generations; the systematic method of inquiry; the processes of events along time; and the records and analysis of the social changes; and into the most modern definition of history in John Tosh’s view, as “actual events happened in the past and its representation in the historian’s work.”¹⁸⁵ *Tala-Tukufakabolo* only asks for a “perfect mix” and a complement of all these notions of history outlined above. It aims to make a satisfactory result of our venture to re-view and re-create history to redress a holistic framework that encapsulates the whole universal history.¹⁸⁶ Such are the limits of *Tala-Tukufakabolo*; its wing is to embrace and melt them all into one permeation to form the whole *art and crafting, graphing and grafting* of social realities for the now and the future. Nevertheless, it also admits a difficulty.

This work highlights the difficulty of transformation of my whole view in the English language to meet the standards set forth in terms of the academic level required for this study; rather than presenting it in the Tongan language of my mother tongue. The acting Director of Oceania Centre for Arts, Culture & Pacific Studies and Post Graduate Chair of University of the South Pacific scholar David Gegeo noted;

There is the tension between the need to use English in order to get published and read by an international audience, and the desire to write in our own, ... native language...Yet writing in English undermines our ability to represent our native, indigenous, or developing meanings and

¹⁸³ Adapted from: <http://www.bpb.de/lernen/projekte/geschichte-begreifen/42324/oral-history?p=all> (accessed 25.01.2017).

¹⁸⁴Salesa, "The Pacific in Indigenous Time." (2014), 32.

¹⁸⁵ Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods @ New Directions in the Study of Modern History*.

¹⁸⁶ As inspired by David Christian, "The Return of Universal History," *History and Theory @ Wesleyan University*, no. Theme Issue 49 (2010).

epistemologies (as has been well demonstrated in the applied linguistics research literatures on language and authenticity and language policy).¹⁸⁷

Language use in itself is a barrier, and translation of knowledge from one language to another is also another. It is, in my view, the main issue of Education – transformation of knowledge from one to another. And in *Tala-Tukufakabolo*, it is the transformation of information from the past to the present in its tripartite method of Oralectic.

A translation is never an absolutely true account of what is there in the heart of the presenter, and the presented vernacular reality, that is translated in another language. It is my sincere hope that one day we can present our cases freely in our own Tongan language and other Pacific peoples in their languages. We need to ensure that what is presented is from one's heart – the seat of wisdom and is well said, and what is said is the truth of one's heart, mind, beliefs and life in an independent framework.

Finally, the last and the greatest difficulty, I encounter in dealing with this *Tala-Tukufakabolo* concept is the copyright of the concept. It is ascribed to the ancestors themselves who are the owner, the custodian of it in immemorial time. When I began to study it, I *fakaongo* - sound and re-sounds the concepts in my heart. What comes out of it is first and foremost of the difficult part; '*Tala-Tukufakabolo* as a phenomenon was oriented only to be *Tala* -orally passed down, embodied and lived, but not rationalized, theorized and documented as I do now.

Thus, therefore, I composed this chant as my tribute to the past:

*‘Tapu atu ki Ono’abo Kilukilua, [Honour and respect is paid to the past]
Ha’a Taula mo kau Matu’a [to the prophets and ancestors]
ki he Matanavu ‘o e Mo’ui, Ilo, mo Tu’a [the source of life, wisdom and
knowledge]
‘A e Ope mo e Kakala Tapu kuo Tokaunkalupe! [To the divine, the divinity and it
aurora]
Seuke! [Alas!]
Tuku ken Hufanga atu He! [allow me a space to be]
Tulon mo e Takafalu ‘o e Fakatuketuke! [My respect to the Creator of all]
Na’a kuo te Sani ki Tungua pe! [may I be excused for any uncompromised]
Pea te hamumu ‘i he Heilala Pulu kuo To Momoho [for I have been contemplating
upon the fragrance of the Heilala flowers]
mo e ‘Akau Kakala tu’u he Lilo! [which has permeated life mysteriously]
‘a e fimgota momona ‘o e loloto! [and the delicacies of the moana]
‘O te Paki mo e Tala ha pe he kakala vale. [that I may have carelessly
abandoned the best]*

¹⁸⁷ David Gegeo, (2001), 178.

Ki ha Papai Faka'otusia pea faka'aofilani [and assumed to have articulated a garland of top quality]

Mo ha ve've'e kuo fakava'epipitogi [not knowing that the occasion demanded only the best]

Hufanga atu 'i be 'ete vale [pardon me and my foolishness]

Mo e masimasikau 'a e Tala Malu 'o hota Fonua, [Tala-Tukufakaholo has secured them all]

Mo e fanounga 'o e ngaahi kakala 'iloa, [the best will always be the best]

'Isa, na'a kuo nofo e Maama kae kailao e fakafa'anga! [Alas! Take care and observe the new song that is being sung]

Fakamolemole atu 'ala! [pardon me, I ask!]

Hufanga atu 'i be Lotu mo 'ene 'Ofa. [May I be pardoned thru the Love of God].

CHAPTER THREE: From insular to Global - Turning Point

3.1. The Beginning

*Mei 'Api ki Moana, pea mei Tonga ki mamani – Mei he Matafuefue ki he Mata'umu'umu, mei Mu'a vai ki Mui vai, mei he Alopalavu ki he Vahanoa, mei he Vahamohe ki he Moana - ko e Moa 'ena!*¹⁸⁸ [From insular to global – journeying from the bosom of my parent on land, across the reef, through the harsh terrain and rocky reefs environment to the meeting point of the warm land water and the cold sea water swimming along the deep, the turbulent; the open ocean where the currents encircled pivotally the most turbulent point of the universe; where symbolically, the conventions and currents of contingents meet as the Moana]. (Trans. author).

(Tu'i'Afitu, 2008)

This chapter narrates how I grew up in a *Tala-Tukufakabolo* way. The pragmatic way how an individual person's life is built up from an insular point and further enriched through life opportunities in an evolutionary manner along time and space. Evolutionary in terms of re-generation (dying and rising again),¹⁸⁹ it tells my personal life as a mini version of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* development. From an unknown point along time, one chapter/generation succeeded another and the build-up is further enriched along time. Thus, my personal life began from an 'Api – (literally means father and land), the bosom of my parents and travelled through harsh terrains of encounters to the heart of the world. Within the Fale 'o Kainga (clan I belong), my ancestral roots upon my fonua (land) of the Moana (Oceania), the real journey of my life began. From childhood to my teenage years; it sketches how my ancestral roots determined what I did in life. My whole life is a journey from an insular point to the global world in general sense and so as *Tala-Tukufakabolo* framework for history and historiography is here suggested as a journey from an insular point to the global world. It should be received as a personal touch of this thesis work.

¹⁸⁸ I am using this statement of Lord Lolomana'ia Tu'i 'Afitu (Minister of Health, Tonga; 'eiki of Makave, Vava'u) as a Tongan pedagogy for studying Psychological development, human development and educational learning. Lolomana'ia Tu'i'Afitu, 2008.

¹⁸⁹ Based on Dodd's statement that "The Gospel does not speak of "progress" but of "dying and rising again." See definition of history in Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments: Three Lectures with a N Appendix on Eschatology and History* 91.

From the womb to childhood and to my teen age, it sketches how my life was being enhanced through various mediums of learning in historiographic terms. I re-view my life development in the contexts of Thaman's definition of Pacific education as "an introduction to worthwhile learning" and by way of "non-formal", "informal" and "formal" learning.¹⁹⁰ In light of John Dewey's definition of Education" as life itself, I employ the term "non-formal" to mean that realities came to my mind and perceptions without any form of instruction from the world around me. Or, rather the world around nurtured me in non-formal ways from foetus to childhood stage at seven years old.¹⁹¹

Until I was able to perceive realities through 'hands on' experience,¹⁹² whether it was from nature, space, ocean, land and people around me, my five senses perceived realities and added to my upbringing in a non-formal way. Further, it narrates how my first mentors in life who were my parent dramatically enacted stories about Tongan culture, traditions and Tapu rituals; this all introduced me to in-formal learning – meaning learning was by way of being informed by them and others. As Ana Maui Taufe'ulungaki asserted;

While Pacific traditional education is also 'worthwhile learning' it is largely informal, contextualized, task-specific, practical, interactive, inter-personal and lifelong.¹⁹³

I learnt through being informed. The stories about my ancestors, my roots, my past were enacted in informal traditional way by my parents, other members of my family, village, and church. Those mentors through the stories they told me invested in my life so many *Tala* of life. Those *Tala* of life widened my experience in a pragmatic way and my views of self, the world, and life was further enriched.

¹⁹⁰ With due respect to the definition of Pacific education as "an introduction to worthwhile learning" by Thaman in Thaman, "Towards Cultural Democracy in Pacific Education: An Imperative for the 21st Century."; and in Taufe'ulungaki, "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?." (2002), 5.

¹⁹¹ From a Christian perspective and an interpretation of Psalm 90 verse 10 which states; "Our days may come to seventy years, or eighty...." I believe that we live life in a chapters of 7 times 10 years, and we die. Thus, I assert that our blessings from God comes in every 7 years chapter, and the first seven years is from the womb to childhood, where one's life is completed. The rest of one's life is a replica of what one learnt in the first seven years of experiences and learning from the world around.

¹⁹² The American scholar John Dewey argued his definition of Education that is based on a "hand on approach" that constituted his pragmatic based definition of Education as "Life itself."

¹⁹³ Taufe'ulungaki, "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?." (2002), 5.

On the *'Api* – the house of my parents, and the insular point of my upbringing, the five main sources of history learning for me as a Tongan was in place. Through the many *Tala-Tala-i-Fale* - enacted stories at *Fale o Kainga* and having grown up upon the historic spot of *Fekitetele*-royal tomb, in retrospect, I later realized the significance of the five sources of Tonga history: the *Tala-'otua* (Tongan gods); *Tala-Tupu'a* (cosmology), *Tala-'a-kainga* (genealogical connections), & *Tala-tala-i-fale* (Tongan Tapu ethos) – Tapu's of the house of kainga. (These sources will be dealt with in the later chapter). Tapu's rituals were task-specific for vesting Tongan ethics in moral behaviour, and all were enacted through informed ways by my parents. The four-cardinal virtues of *Faka'apa'apa* [respect], *Faka'aki'akimui* – [humble], *Ta'efieauna* – [unwilling to be vanquished] and *'Ofaongongofua* – [kind]¹⁹⁴ were all invested in my heart, mind and soul to be my inner drive of life and code for moral behaviour.

New code of ethics was invested at formal school. At institutionalized schools, I was introduced to learning through forms of thoughts and disciplines (formal learning). Through primary, secondary and tertiary institutions to government and church works all stories about life were enacted, taught, and presented to me in their own different forms; *Kainga* (family), *Ako* (Education), *Pule'anga* (government), and *Lotu* (church) – they all reshaped my views to turn or shift from one to another successively to where I am now writing this thesis.

3.2. My Roots.

Telling a personal life story is a *Tala-Tukufakabolo* – and remains a *Tala* that is told and is passed down successively to the next generations in blood, words, and spirit - an indigenous way. Indigenous in terms of native to the land, people and culture of my ethnicity. My journey began from a deep spot on earth where my roots of Tangaloans¹⁹⁵ (Polynesian) stock claimed where I belong as a human person. As Epeli Hau'ofa puts it, “Wherever I am at any given point of time, there is comfort in the knowledge that somewhere in Oceania is a piece of earth to which I belong. In the turbulence of life, it is my anchor. No one can take it away from me.”¹⁹⁶ I am so very proud

¹⁹⁴ These four cardinal virtues of Tongan culture is recorded in Queen Salote, "*Ko E Tohi 'a 'Ene 'Afio, 1958-59*, (the Writings of Queen Salote)," (Nuku'alofa: Palace Office Pangai (POP) 1958-59).

¹⁹⁵ I prefer using the term Tangaloan in place of the foreign term “Polynesians”.

¹⁹⁶ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Past to Remember." (2000), 470.

to be from this land-scape of *Matafuefue*¹⁹⁷ - the grass house on Langi Fekitetele at the village of Mataika, Vava'u, Tonga. It is my anchor. In historiographic terms this particular spot of earth steers my life wherever I go.

My ancestral roots go back paternally to Selemaea Ha'one'one, the son of Haveatungua and No'otapa'ingatu, a daughter of Nuku Tehalakamu of Loto Poha, Kolonga. Ha'one'one cohabited Moala 'Eseta, the daughter of Haveatuli, the son of the 23rd Tu'i Tonga Takalaua, and their son Sione Latu II, was my great grandfather. He served as a minister of the 19th century British Methodist Church in Tonga.

My maternal roots go back to Leakehe of Tongamama'o, Niua Fo'ou, who cohabited Lata, a daughter of Lavinia Tu'itofa from Niuatoputapu, and whose granddaughter Anapapa Lolomani Finau is my mother. My father Tevita Latu II was a local farmer, church minister and history informant, and my mother 'Anapapa Lolomani was a housewife.¹⁹⁸

My life journey began from this grass house at Fekitetele. I began to appreciate life in a non-formal way on this spot. Those invested values in my life cannot be taken away from me. There and then, my poor Tongan parents brought me up in extreme poverty and the living and trying to meet ends of life was out of scratch. By this, I mean, there were nine of us children; five boys and four girls. Due to poverty, my father who was only a local farmer, instituted a family policy, that only boys must strive for excellence in schools, while girls can remain with their mother after matriculation at year 12th in Primary school. My father believed that ladies can learn to be good wives and be of service to God and people. He believed, that a good gentleman must learn how to run a family and must work hard to serve God and his family needs in the future. All five boys had chances to go on to secondary government high school and college and some obtained highest honour as dux of school and became a dentist while others were to be Public health officer, navigation officer, warder, and historian.

¹⁹⁷ Literally, it stands for the face of the land of Tonga and eco-systems; symbolically for the home and the faces of the persons dwelling on that land, ready to take their journey to explore the truth of life in the *moana* and the world beyond.

¹⁹⁸ Sione Mafi Latu, "Ko E Latu - Ko E Hoko Fakatoto 'a E Kainga, 'Aikona 'I He Mo'ui, Ako Mo E Lotu: Ko E Ngaahi Fakamatala Ni Ko E Lalanga Mei He Ngaahi Talanoa 'a E Kau 'Ulumotu'a 'O E Ngaahi Ha'a Mo E Kainga Mo E Taipaleiti Mei He Tohinoa 'a Tevita Latu 2 (Haveatuli, 1926 Pekia 2012) 'O Mataika, Vava'u.," (Auckland: Tala-Tukufakaholo Trust., 1998).

Through *Tala-tala-i-Fale* – ethos learning for “worthwhile living my father dramatically enacted stories of my ancestral roots at family prayer times.¹⁹⁹ My father was a church minister, and a local farmer and oral history informant. I remember, one day the Canadian archaeologist Professor David Burley and his excavation team interviewed my father about the royal tomb of Tu’i Tonga Baulaho in the 1990’s.²⁰⁰ My father’s memory was substantially powerful and he was able to enumerate by heart the names of the 39 Tu’i Tonga title holders from 950-1865 AD; and the names of all the Langi -royal tombs in Tonga, and a fair amount of story of Tonga past. He was a great storyteller and Preacher in the church. I still hold in great volumes some of his biblical exegesis notes, and the notebook of his sermons recorded in the 1950’s and 60’s. My mother was only a lowly humble house wife with no sense of humour. She was a silent weaver of mats, a dyer of Tapa clothes and a great God worshipper. Her talent was only praying and singing at home and church. As the British author, Mary Greetham commented on her *Susanna Wesley: Mother of Methodism*; noted “albeit a woman, who accompanied her Lord everyday of her life in prayer and meditation.”²⁰¹ I remember her voice singing in high note at church and prayers she fervently offered for a blessing for her children. Thus, is why my father wanted the girls to stay home and emulated the dedicated servitude life of their mother, for they should serve the society and God better in the future.

Tala-Tala-i-Fale - ethos instructions were also, informed through *Katoanga ‘Apisia* – funerals, and *Katoanga Mali*-weddings, were basically enhancing of knowledge to live a good moral life. The memorable moments of mourning disconnected members in life through deaths and re-connected members in life through marriages were very enriching. From those stories, I later realized (after researching about my genealogical roots), that my genetic build-up (DNA) was infused at this oral setting of the historic spot of *Langi Fekitetele* – the burial tomb place of the 36th Tu’i Tonga Baulaho.²⁰² In that grass house I was made to appreciate my culture, the world around and life through the many dramatically enacted stories. As I recalled, I learnt freely from stories that was confirmed by landscapes and the environment, people and *Tala e Fonua*-tales of the land. It was all

¹⁹⁹ Definition of Pacific education as defined by Thaman in Thaman, "Towards Cultural Democracy in Pacific Education: An Imperative for the 21st Century."

²⁰⁰ See his works on Burley, "Tongan Archaeology and Tongan Past, 2850-150 B.P.."

²⁰¹ Mary Greetham, *Susanna Wesley: Mother of Methodism* (Peterborough: Foundry Press 1994). 8.

²⁰² There were 39 Tu’i Tonga title holders from 950 – 1865AD. See List on Appendix 1 of Campbell, *Classical Tongan Kingship*.(1989), 31-35.; see also Appendix 1. Paula Onoafe Latu, *Fakaongo and Tau’ataina: The Influences of Tongan Traditional Religion, European Civilization, and Wesleyan Teachings on the Formation of Tongan Religious Identities*(Auckland: *Tala-Tukufakabolo* Publisher (Aotearoa NZ), 2015). 293-4.

for my non-formal and in-formal training about life. Through observations of the landscapes, the stones layout of the terraced tomb, the cultural practices, the Tapu observed, I asked my father and he explained from traditional stories passed down from previous generations. That spot of terraced land we lived on was the historic tomb of the Tu'i of Tonga, one of the Tapu place in Tongan culture.

Let me tell this true story regarding the Tapu of the royal tomb in Tonga. I recalled from an event that still hangs in my memory for forty years now without any reasonable explanation. One day a bird hunter was coming home. He was using a *sengai* – slingshot locally made of a V stick and elastic rubber to push a stone when stretched and released to kill a bird, animal or fish. This hunter stood on one of the *langi* – tomb of the daughter of Baulaho, named Sinaitakala²⁰³ who died and was buried beside his tomb. The hunter located a pigeon who was feeding on the flowers of the Tava tree, which stood on the top of the langi-tomb. Hurriedly, he stretched his slingshot with a *kilikili* – lava stone he picked up from the tomb, aiming to kill the pigeon. When he released the stone from his hands to drive up in about ten meters to kill the pigeon on top of the tree, the stone instead, returned in full force and hit his own right eye. His eye came off his body and fell on the ground. The hunter fell to the ground and yelled for help. My father and me rushed to help because the tomb is just outside our *fale o kainga*. To our dismay, found the hunter's own eye lying there on the bare ground. We took the hunter to the hospital but the skills and instrument available were not able to save his eye. The hunter was with one eye ever since and was a mark of this indescribable story about Tapu of the royal tomb.

3.4. My Education.

At six year, old I entered the Government Primary School of Feletoa, Vava'u, where my worthwhile living and learning was enhanced and my views about life were transformed by a Western formal education strategy. The realities about life was taught in a formal and disciplined way. To learn about those realities one must acquire the form of teaching in order to attain the realities taught. It follows I had to discipline my time, attitudes, mindset and vision to the form of disciplined realities presented. I was not able to learn through my own eyes, and in my own language, the way I was used to, through my own observations, hands on experiences, and enacted stories by my parents. (non-formal and informal learning at home).

My views from this point onwards were disciplined and controlled. Retrospectively, I realized that from this point on, my whole being, belief, mind and worldview was shifted from my appreciative

²⁰³ Wood-Ellem, *Queen Salote of Tonga: The Story of an Era, 1900-1965*.

way of learning (informal and non-formal realities from the open theatre of the natural environment of my native land and people); to a critical formal learning at a fixed housed classroom environment mono-logically taught by only one instructor with foreign realities in forms of thoughts. In hindsight, it was, as I thought, an add-on to my *Tala-Tukufakabolo* development – a real enrichment – the native and the foreign realities.

This new chapters of learning in formal strategy and forms of thoughts was further enhanced at Tonga Government College, the secondary level of education. My whole being, time, mindset, outfit, even realities to learn through offered subjects were all presented in forms and in strict discipline way even of time and life at this secondary level.²⁰⁴ Along the way, my views were further infused with scientific learning and experimentation of things learnt in practical life.

Let me tell another story regarding science, experimentation and its effect on life from my school days at Tonga College. A Peace Corps science teacher named Ken Moses from America was teaching how to use gunpowder to drive a rocket to space. This was in 1969 during the time when America made success in landing a rocket with Neil Armstrong on the moon. The experiment was set and the teacher and the class anxiously came out on the field to test it. Each group with their rockets were ready to test their experiment while the whole school was observing. Before the test, Ken the teacher proudly briefed the school what was going to happen next after the student lit the match to burn the *makaafi* and the fiery force from the gunpower burning will drive the rocket to go up space as the American Rocket landed on the moon in 1969. The experiment was set and the teacher lit the match and the whole school were getting ready to burst out with applause. But when the rocket kicked off the ground it came straight to the crowd and hit one of the student after slightly missing the teacher himself. Instead of an applause, a big woo and the ambulance had to rush the student to the hospital for treatment. The second group lit their rocket and it got burnt alright but it went straight to the school hall, almost setting it on fire. Experimentation with gunpower was successful but the effect it left was not easy to predict. There, I was introduced to systematic experimentation of an articulated discipline to present a form of strategical thought for development. All experiments resulted in good and bad effects and had caused numerous lives. However, *Tala-Tukufakabolo* was further infused and built up.

At the tertiary institution of Massey University in Palmerston North I studied horticulture and learnt about agriculture. On return, I had to transfer those knowledges from New Zealand to

²⁰⁴ Quite fortunate to study English at year 12 under the teaching of Ms 'Ana Maui Taufe'ulungaki who later principal of the school for many years. I also happened to be Farm Manager and head of Agricultural department of this college after 10 years of leaving it at Higher Leaving year 12 class.

Tonga, from university to work place. I worked as a researcher at the government Ministry of Agriculture, at the Vaini Experimental Farm. Liaising the French Government Aid to Tonga for the purpose of reviving Tonga's Tree Crops by way of Budding and Grafting – practice for enhancing the growth of trees for better production. I learnt more about cocoa production in Samoa, and about budding and Grafting Citrus, Avocado, and other tree crops at Papara Research Station in Tahiti. I also had a chance to learn about Coffee production and Processing in New Caledonia Arabica Coffee in Ponerihouen. From this trip, it dawned on me the fact that Budding and Grafting of related living organisms is a fact of life. I wondered then, if it could apply to other fields. However, I returned to Tonga and conducted field experimentations to test all types of contact and systemic chemicals of insecticides, fungicides, herbicides, and the like. These chemicals were introduced to Tonga at the demands of shifting from subsistence farming to cash production farming. Necessary trials were to be conducted to test all imported Agricultural chemicals to Tonga in 1974.

As researcher, I managed experiments to test chemicals in laboratory and spray them on field crops for over five years. To my dismay, the toxic effects of the chemicals ruined my health and I had to undergo a “Culdwell luc” operation in the Papua New Guinea Port Moresby hospital in 1982.²⁰⁵ This operation was followed by another triple bypass open heart operation in Auckland, 2013,²⁰⁶ were said to be a carried over effects from the intoxicating chemical usage in the past. However dangerous these I encounters were, they all added-on to my life in a *Tala-Tukufakabolo* way. Whether it was a bad or good effect, the successive build-up of my life, being exposed to various aspects of developments in education and research developed as I moved on in life.

The slim chance to survive in life to this moment and witness the side effects of all these hazardous developments being introduced to our island of Tonga in 1970's, I was perplexed whether the imported goods to Tonga would do it better or rather Tongan organic subsistence farming would be best. Until one day I was sick with pain on the whole body, admitted to the hospital to be diagnosed with lung cancer. I was to be entered into the theatre for another operation, but I refused. I asked the doctor to let me return home and try herbal medicine and would prefer to die with my body intact. Infuriated by my response to his diagnosis, the doctor discharged me to die at my own home. On arriving at home an old man came along with his herbal medicine and treated

²⁰⁵ This operation was held by Dr. Fe'ao Takitaki of Tonga and a specialist in surgery from India at the Port Moresby Hospital, Papua New Guinea in April, 1982.

²⁰⁶ This operation was held by Dr. Rauduvick in Auckland hospital, Auckland New Zealand in August, 2013.

me with local medicine made of plant leaves and concluded with a prayer. He took away the diagnosed cancer and the pain from my body and had never come back. There on that spot, I began to think of the alternative in life. That was my turning point of thinking there was an alternative way of doing things in life for the better.

Ever since, I turned to the indigenous way of living on herbal medicines. I started an organic farm promoting gardening without chemicals. I also learnt about Animal husbandry and found artificial foods were used to force feed chickens to grow fast and lay eggs. I also learnt from health advices that some cancers have been alleged to have caused by chemicals from force feeding of animals. There, I learned to raise my own free range chickens and piglets in indigenous way of farming close to earth and feed them organic food stuffs. Another dimension of learning was then realized, however, *Tala-Tukufakabolo* build up was progressed.

This is what education in a pragmatic way was all about to me; when a “form of thought” can be transformed into a “way of life”, or rather a “form of thought” can transform one’s “way of life”, as in my case. From the lessons, where I learnt about all those Agricultural and Horticultural developments, I noticed the differences between the introduced (I hate pointing at the West or anyone) ways for maximizing production using foreign and artificial stuffs like chemicals on farming. Comparing those with growing my own crops on land in the organic way, gave me good health, alternatively. The same for animal husbandry, I realized I have my own way of rearing animals in free range style and organic feeding to give me organic healthy meats. If I can do it my way for good reason, why should I still remain in bondage and continue to support those alienating ways of life?

I apply the same view to the study of Tonga history and historiography. If I can do my own organic history according to my own beliefs, culture and goals in life why should I continue to be in bondage, and support the artificial colonial way?

In the tertiary environments and University contexts *Tala-Tukufakabolo* keeps building on in my life. I have been learning history the Western scientific inquiry way. Until, sometimes later I realized the need to shift and study history in my own oral way pertaining to the reality and culture of my people. I started my own collection of antiques for an archive, and library. In fact, I enjoy sitting here in my library encircled by volumes of books, and primary sources. There are tapes recorded from 1980’s, an antique from Northern Territory, Australia, my photo with Pope John Paul II at the top floor of the Vatican in Rome in 1994. At night, I lie down to rest using the head rest of my grandfather I treasured from 1950’s. The notebooks of Dr. James Egan Moulton he documented in 19th century from oral stories of his students at Tupou College. Records of my

father's sermons at church in 1950's before I was born, and a photocopy of H.M. Queen Salote's *Writings* given to me by a friend in 1977, and more than one thousand secondary sources of various scholars and historians.

In reality they are all stories, words, narratives, and wisdoms of previous generations being passed on to me to pass on. I treasure them all together with those items today. At times, I replay the interviews on the "Seeds of the Gospel" of my Tongan informants including the (RIP's) Dr. Huluholo Mo'ungaloa of Hihifo, Kautai of Mu'a and Sione 'Amanaki Havea. I enjoyed listening to the King I admired most, The Late H.M. Queen Salote Tupou III speech on the Radio Tonga (ZCO) in 1962 on "Emancipation" – a commemoration of the Late King Tupou I and his decision to free our people from the domination of the chiefs in 1862. I listen to Sione 'Amanaki Havea preaching on *Fakalelei* - "Reconciliation" in 1988 and (RIP) Alfred Harold Wood, preaching on "Tongan Church Divisions" in 1985, respectively. Re-viewing all that information, works, recorded interviews and sermons, they contain a wealth of knowledge and examples of wisdoms that constituted the *Tala-Tukufakabolo*, They, all inspired me in the way, they are information and knowledge passed on from previous generations. My views about our ways of doing history and historiography is being enhanced.

In the tertiary level my views were further enhanced in the critical analysis of realities. I cannot boast to know something, however, from the bits of things I learnt about philosophy and Socrates "intense questioning" as dialectical strategy of questions looking for answers, I felt, that was enough for me to argue my case for "alter-native".

In the context of the family I shared the 'alternative' way of doing history with my children during our family prayer, to which my second son Taniela wrote to me on email the following day. This is to me a form of Talanoa - the heart of learning – between a father and son, and the respond from the son to the father.

Taniela Latu [DATACOM]
(27.01.2017)
to me

Afternoon Dad,
....it is very interesting how history is important for shaping our world as Tongans. Now I see why it is important to study history, as history speaks for itself. History is the ONLY truth. It is important that we adopt a different approach to how we write our history and not be voiceless in a democratic

world. Tongans will continue to be dominated by the influence of Europeans because our culture is Mo'ui fakaongoongo. [loyal and humble]²⁰⁷

We only understand the world from an audience perspective rather than hear it from the actual character (ourselves) or the person who actually endured such experience.

The strength of our own ideas as Tongans is often defined by what we are and how much power we control to execute our own commands and ideas. When someone else tells us something to do or believe, it automatically eliminates our importance and reverts the power to the one who is speaking (the Western/European).

Therefore, I see two types of people in the world – There is the person who makes it happen and then there is the person who watch it happen. (Contenders versus the Critics). The Tongan culture fits right into this. The Tongan society lives in a hierarchy structure where people and family are ranked according to their position in line and titles. Tongans automatically take orders from a higher person... This is how Tongans live on in life as a follower rather than a leader....

Regards. Nella.²⁰⁸

The pressures of learning Western realities, facts, history and even studying the geography of foreign countries have been too heavy on my heart. Those experiences on researching, working and doing my *fatongia* to the *Fonua* in agriculture and animal Husbandry led me to my turning point – a switch to doing History and Historiography. I realized that I can argue the same case in history, as I did for agriculture and animal Husbandry described earlier, because we have our own history, in our own words, and presented our own way of historiography.

In hindsight, I realized the Western 'form of thought' was quite dominating to me (as I thought). After all we have our own indigenous values, history, geography, people, and even agriculture, yet, we had to learn about foreign countries agriculture. We knew better about foreign countries more than we knew about us and our own land. Suppression came to my mind at once. Marginalization of our own values, realities, facts of life was also on the horizon in my thoughts. Colonization in educational terms was also pondering in my mind, my thinking and my whole life in the past twenty

²⁰⁷ Tongan Cardinal Virtues include these two values of being loyal and humble. See Latu, *Latu, Fakaongo and Tau'ataina* 73.

²⁰⁸ Taniela Mahe Pikokivaka Latu is my second son who works as IT technician Datacom, Auckland. His response came on email and am happy to include it in my thesis because I see there the heart of education, *Tala-Tukufakaholo* and freedom to express ones thought about the problem on history and historiography in Tonga. He aspires to study History of Tonga in the future. He has written an article of his views on the concept of Grafting in History writing for a Massey University publication. Taniela Mahe Pikokivaka Latu, "Grafting-Crafting: A Biblical Theological Re-View " in *Grafting-Crafting: A Possible Method for Research, Writing in Social Developments.*, ed. Koloamatangi Malakai(Massey University Pasifika Directorate, 2017).

years of my teaching career at Sia'atoutai Theological College, Tonga and working in the Methodist church in Tonga.

To make it worse, my study at university was terminated because my English was not up to standard to meet the academic requirement for PhD.²⁰⁹ I was marginalized as under-achieve because of my English. I was stigmatized as a failure only because I could not use English in the way an academic palangi does. Deep down inside I didn't want to be a brown palangi – because I loved my country, my culture, my language, tradition, history and my people. I wanted to remain a brown Tongan speaking Tongan and lived the way I was created to be and the culture that brought me up to be forever as I'd live. Then, I asked Taufe'ulungaki's question; "Pacific education at the crossroads: are there alternatives?"²¹⁰

I was so sad and disheartened. I felt I was in bondage to the colonizers. I gave great time thinking about this burden in the context of my people whom sent me to learn something "worthwhile" for Tonga. This does not mean that English is not worthwhile for Tonga, but my case was to study History of Tonga for Tonga. Here the Academic system and the foreign policy for Education now determined what is history to us and what is not history.

There and then, it dawned in me the fact that education and its system was a powerful weapon for change as Nelson Mandela stated:

"Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world." ...

"When a man is denied the right to live the life he believes in, he has no choice but to become an outlaw."²¹¹ ...

Deep down in me. I felt as Mandela stated; "I was denied of the right to live the life I believe in" and I did not want to be an outlaw in the negative sense of the term, but to look for an alternative outside the law of the Western worldview. Re-viewing the Western policy for education today, they seem to value more their standardized reputation and purpose than to serve the needs of the people who need to be educated. To educate the people that need education most. I remember John Wesley's famous advice to his preachers saying (I often quoted this in my sermons); "Go,

²⁰⁹ I am suppressing the name of the university and the related professionals who made this decision because I do not want to dishonour their reputations.

²¹⁰ Taufe'ulungaki, "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?." (2002), 5.

²¹¹ Nelson Mandela Quotes (Author of Long Walk to Freedom) – Goodreads website: https://www.goodreads.com/author/quotes/367338.Nelson_Mandela (accessed 27.01.2017).

not only to those who need you, but to those who need you most.”²¹² I looked at Nelson Mandela’s statement as a great relief. Not that I wished to turn an outlaw and dishonour the institution but turn to Taufe’ulungaki’s statement and look for an alternative beyond the law being enforced on me. And again, I am also reminded of Nasili Vaka’uta’s alter-native concept; in my own words, I need to *alter my views and insights* and served the interests of those who need education most. This work is the “alter-native.” It is for those broken-soul people who had been denied of education because they cannot use English well, but they need education most in Tonga and the Pacific.

Understanding consoled my broken-hearted soul. I am glad I was moulded from my early period of life with ecology-based realities, living close to the earth and nature to turn to for an alternative. From other scholars, I looked for comfort and found Hau’ofa statement about the way we lived in Tonga as people with nature:

The driving force that propelled human activities was the knowledge and skills developed over centuries, fine-tuned to synchronize actions with the regularity in nature.... Living in harmony with nature” is a more popular way of putting it. For a genuinely Oceanian historiography, we could use this notion to reconstruct our past....²¹³

Mandela’s words inspired me to walk this journey in search of the alternative and reconstruct a “genuinely Oceanian historiography” with the understanding that it is my people in Tonga and the Pacific that needs education the most. Why? To live and do what they believed in. To the high percentage of able Pacific students who have dropped out of university education because of their failure to speak and write English the palangi way, frustrated in the Western colonial policy on education. I invite you all the dropped off, and the under achieved to come along the alternative track. Our people in the Pacific are waiting for us to unfold the hidden gold of realities we believed in that Mandela has revealed for us today; ‘if we are being denied to live the life we believed in, we need to be an outlaw.” Not in a negative sense, but in positive sense, by looking at alternative, out and beyond, the Western palangi law. Hau’ofa has signalled us a way to reconstruct a “genuinely Oceania historiography”. In the context of the assessment of the Pacific education reforms Taufe’ulungaki on her article; “Pacific Education at the cross-roads: are there alternatives?” states

²¹² See quote in Richard Watson, *The Life of the Rev John Wesley, Am.: Sometimes Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Founder of the Methodist Societies* ed. John Emory, First American Official Edition with Translations and Notes (New York T.Mason and G.Lane for the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1840). 98.

²¹³ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember." 461.

in regard to the “reforms” in education that “have not succeeded in creating the kinds of societies Pacific peoples wish for themselves, and their children.”²¹⁴

Life is worth living when one lives with the freedom to do what he or she believes in. My alter-native is not only for those who need us most but for the generations of broken-hearted people of the Pacific who have been silenced or have been stunned by the colonizers, and who for many years suppressed our indigenous values and continue to push Pacific people to the margins. If alter-native is for the people of the margin, let us enjoy the margin and play our alter-native game with what we have and be contended with doing what we believe in, in the margin.

This is real education to me. How we Pacific people creates a method out of experienced and “hands-on approach”²¹⁵ like Mandela’s *fakakaukau*-practical thinking and rich *a’usia*- experiences. The idea of turning from the law to be an outlaw in an alternative sense creates more *fakakaukau* based on *a’usia*. The point in life one reaches and recognize the needs from the margin is what education in an alter-native way is all about in my view. The margin is valued here only because it is being suppressed and neglected. The World categorizing and labelling us Oceanians as “Third Worlders” is enough evidence for this claim of marginalization.

The Korean-American scholar and theologian Jung Young Lee in the context of margins & centrality studied the margins in his work; *Marginality: the Key to Multi-Cultural Theology*, says; “Here marginality is stressed because it has been neglected.”²¹⁶ Education, in the context of John Dewey’s definition as “Life itself” does not call to neglect any one or group in the society. Thus, it calls to recognize the crying voices of the people who need education the most in the margin of the society and in the Pacific.

3.5. The Civil Servant Role

Our *fatongia* - role as scholars of Tonga and the Pacific are to be *tamaio’eiki mo kaunaga* - servants of the civil society. Our call is to turn the society around. Vaka’uta suggested to re-view and use “our *native* insights to *alter* the existing knowledge and modes, and to *alter the native insights* if they tend to serve the interests of the colonizers/outsideers rather than the colonized/locals,” way of viewing our realities. We need to educate our people to view *us* and *ours* through our own eyes and lens. We must turn the point of others arguments and see ourselves in our own society and what we

²¹⁴ Taufe'ulungaki, "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?." (2002), 5.

²¹⁵ John Dewey’s philosophy of education is based on a “hand-on approach.”

²¹⁶ Jung Young Lee, *Marginality: The Key to Multi-Culturalism* (Minneapolis Fortress Press 1995). 31.

can offer. See how many years of our being enslaved to the Western hegemony? Ask how many years we have been reading about *us*, and *ours* through the eyes and the language of the foreigners? Ask how many years we have lived in bondage? Do we have none to turn to? My turning from abiding with the colonial law to doing new things outside, and beyond the law alternatively is what Mandela was aspiring to. In the context of Mandela's *mo'ui*-life of twenty-seven years' imprisonment,²¹⁷ and his thoughts about allowing people to do things they believed in surely, was the springboard that elevated him from being a prisoner to being the head of state of South Africa. The indescribable and huge experiences he had exerted in his leadership position as President of South Africa is enough evidence for myself and all under-achieved Pacific students to turn to do what we believe in for the benefit of our people, our country and our God.

If Nelson Mandela was able to do it after 27 years of imprisonment, why not us for our own crying and broken souls people because of colonization, suppression, and marginalization? That was another turning point of my life. Turning from pursuing more along the Western hegemony and colonial strategy of formal education to look for an alternative. The point I have been called for by this situation to turn to is a re-view of the colonial situation, and alter the views of the Pacific people and younger generations from accounting to the colonizers, to serve the needs of the colonized, marginalized, and the broken-hearted people in the Pacific region. That is where education is most needed.

Let me end this personal sharing of what education means to me from the work, life and intelligence of the prisoner who become the President of the nation of South Africa: Nelson Mandela. The strategy Mandela suggested to his friend Mac is most intriguing and professional in its class. Mandela advised ANC [African National Congress]²¹⁸ and Communist Party stalwart Mac Maharaj to study Afrikaans. But Mac replied, "No way – this is the language of the damn oppressor." In reply, Nelson Mandela said as according to Mac;

' Mac, we are in for a protracted war. You can't dream of ambushing the enemy if you can't understand the general commanding the forces. You have

²¹⁷ "In the winter of **1964**, Nelson Mandela arrived on Robben Island where he would spend 18 of his 27 prison years. Confined to a small cell, the floor his bed, a bucket for a toilet, he was forced to do hard labor in a quarry. He was allowed one visitor a year for 30 minutes."

Website: [The Prisoner | The Long Walk Of Nelson Mandela | FRONTLINE | PBS](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/mandela/prison/)
www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/mandela/prison/ (accessed 27.01.2017)

²¹⁸ The **African National Congress** (ANC) is the Republic of South Africa's governing social democratic political party.

to read their literature and poetry, you have to understand their culture so that you get into the mind of the general.'

"Here he was showing right at the outset this focus of thinking of the other side, understanding them, anticipating them and so at the end of the day understanding how to accommodate them."²¹⁹

I cannot claim that I have known the literature and poetry of the colonizers, nor their history and culture. But I would say that this little knowledge I have gained from interacting, researching and studying under the administration of a Western managed institution, is enough of a springboard. I think if we need to accommodate them, let us turn to alternative. This alter-native is for a complement with the convention. Jung Young Lee (on his *Marginality*) study asserted;

Marginality and centrality are so mutually inclusive, that it is imbalance to stress one more than the other. If we stress marginality over centrality, are we not making the same mistake that centralists commit? No. Here marginality is stressed because it has been neglected. By stressing marginality over centrality, we can restore the balance between the two poles.²²⁰

This study does not wish to stress the insiders/colonized/subjective more than the outsiders/colonizers/objective viewers. Rather, it stresses insiders/colonized more only because their realities are being suppressed, colonized and marginalized. It is also aware of the fact that it may end up committing the same mistake, the outsiders commit for Tonga history and historiography. It considers the two poles in equal terms holistically and it is the call of this indigenous concept of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* to encapsulate them all. Furthermore, Lee also commented regarding the two poles in equal terms;

Such a balance which creates harmony, finds a new center, the authentic center, which is no longer oppressive but liberative to the people located at the center or the margin.²²¹

Only in this complementary way, stressing an alternative in history and historiography is not a mistake to the examiners, but an appropriate approach for liberating the colonized. Collaboration on the way of doing things together in good spirit is only the best possible way to accommodate the colonizers in a peaceful way appropriate. Let us work closely with them and build-up our alter-

²¹⁹ ANC and Communist Party stalwart Mac Maharaj remembers it as a cause of a falling out with Nelson Mandela.

"He was urging let us study Afrikaans and I was saying no way - this is the language of the damn oppressor. He persuaded me by saying

²²⁰ Lee, *Marginality: The Key to Multi-Culturalism* (1995), 31.

²²¹ Ibid.

native with the understanding that we work towards a balanced holistic framework that will create an authentic center which present our case with liberty. Here, Orality invites a complement with the conventional.

3.6. The switch

Since the Western hegemony took control of everything in the Pacific, from Australia, New Zealand (NZ), PNG, Solomons, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji, Samoa, Niue, Rarotonga, Tahiti and Hawaii, many people died silently without notice due to colonization. They died without their voices heard. Out of all these onslaughts on power by the colonizers some mothers died quietly without kissing and say good bye to their sons who was taken away from them at the dictate of the law. I have seen New Zealand Immigration (NZI), dealing with such issues in the face of the Laws, denied to give visas to mothers to attend a funeral of their sons in New Zealand only because of the immigration status of one or the other. The face value of the Law is only one side of the coin. Take the other side, take into account the spirit of the law – it is a mother crying to kiss her son who will depart life forever or rather the son to a dead mother. Those unseen wounds and broken-hearted people's voice are still clinging loudly in the hearts of the Pacific communities in NZ and other countries. Allow us to do what we believe in (culture) and live our lives in the way we wished. Most importantly to present our history in our own cultural language and through our own eyes and lens.

As Nelson Mandela reflected on his experiences on the authorities refusing permission for him to attend the funeral of his mother and his son's death of car accident. Returning from Robben Island prison in 1994. He stated;

Wounds that can't be seen are more painful than those that can be seen and cured by a doctor. One of the saddest moments of my life in prison was the death of my mother. The next shattering experience was the death of my eldest son in a car accident.

Although Tonga was not politically colonized, the people's minds in terms of history and historiography as according to Campbell is being "colonized and under control". Here I am for one, speaking on behalf of the people of Tonga. It is now almost two centuries and Edward Said's comment about the "imposition of Western hegemony" in Tonga is evident in the way we attempt to explain our history in our own cultural language and heritage. Alienation has been accelerated through globalization and technology and presented facts are, in my view, enough evidence to challenge a switch to alter-native and do things in life according to what we believed in as Mandela challenged us.

3.7. The New Venture

To begin the new venture of alternative, we need to understand their worldview as Mandela argued. Taufe'ulungaki's statement about the differences in the values of Western societies and Tongan society is worth consulting as we are about to embark on a new venture. Taufe'ulungaki said;

The key values of Western societies are often said to relate to individual rights and freedoms; justice in terms of equality; protection of privacy; promotion of competition and consumerism, and scientific-rational thinking....[whereas] Tongan values on the other hand, which are similar to the values of other Pacific communities, emphasize the holistic nature of life and centrality of good relationships; the connectivity of the past, present and future; of people, land, sea, and sky, and the spirituality that bind them together.²²²

Taufe'ulungaki's assertion above emphasized the *Aoniu* - "holistic nature of the Tongan organic unity (referred to by Thaman) of [*Tala-Tukufakabolo*] life", *Kainga* "relationships", and the *fekaukau'aki* "connectedness and inter-relationships" of - "past, present, and future" [referred to by Linda T. Smith]. It placed the Tongan minds in the framework of the *fakaTonga* way which Thaman stated, "a belief and reliance in the supernatural". This is in essence, the heart of *Tala-Tukufakabolo*. Tangibly, there is the topography, which are the people, the land and sea. Intangibly, there is the enjoined *Tala* - 'the multiple voices'²²³ of the supernatural to the ancestors and earlier generations which had successively passed down to the present generation.

Tonga, if not the whole Pacific region have shared the whole colonial drama and it is here suggested that the Western (global) versions of Tonga history should be re-viewed and re-created in its indigenous framework. This Tongan (insular) version from the oral and tangible sources of history only raises the problem. Another Tongan scholar Timote Vaoleti declared, "The universalism and mainstream of Western knowledge and values occupy a centrality in most ways we think, see and work."²²⁴ Thus, is the baseline for this claim for *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as an alternative Methodology?

Thaman also suggested that we must look back to the sources of our cultures and also "some interesting findings, relating to learning in traditional [Tongan] settings". She listed the following:

²²² Taufe'ulungaki, "Keynote Address by the Minister for Education, Women Affairs and Culture." (2011), 3.

²²³ Borofsky, "An Invitation." (2000), 1.

²²⁴ Vaoleti, "'Talanoa, Manulua and Founa Ako: Frameworks for Using, Enduring Tongan Educational Ideas for Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand,." 40.

1. Learning through observation and imitation rather than verbal instruction.
2. Learning by doing rather than learning from talk and demonstration.
3. Learning in real-life situations rather than abstractions.
4. Learning wholes rather than sequenced parts (for example, learning a song by listening to the whole song rather than learning the different parts of a song separately).
5. Learning skills and understanding for specific contexts; (in other words, learning specifics rather than general principles).
6. Learning is person-oriented, not information or subject oriented; in other words, focussing on people, rather than issues and information (Harris, 1984).²²⁵

This outline depicts the essential conflicting barriers which are situated in the heart of the encounter of Western and Tongan worldviews. While outsiders emphasized delivery of realities by theoretical teaching in a rational formal way of learning, Tongans informally and non-formally “learning in real life situation”, observed what was said, *fakaongo* - re-sounded its values, *kumuni*-took to hearts, and *moimoi*’i-emulated in real life situation, in both the *Aoniu*-holistic sense and in the most *fakafo’ituitui*-personal candle-nut way to define the world around them.²²⁶

In the new venture - these are the pockets and areas where the outside mode of views cannot completely capture the inside-ness of facts of history about Pacific past.

Conclusion

Education in my view, is a journey from the insular to the global world, overcoming some “harsh terrain and inhospitable environments” (Taufe’ulungaki’s terms)²²⁷, preparing oneself to meet various contentions and conventions, yet they all added to the build-up of an individual person’s life in what is viewed here as *Tala-Tukufakabolo*. Through the terrains of arts and scientific environments, one’s knowledge about self, environment and beyond is enriched to offer the next generation pathways towards re-viewing their own and build towards holism. These harsh terrains were, on the main, our being alienated of our own realities, learnt about us through foreigners, and knowingly suppressing values of our beliefs at the expense of a must to pass English.

²²⁵ Konai Helu Thaman, "Looking Towards the Source: A Consideration of (Cultural) Context in Teacher Education," (1992). 11.

²²⁶ An IDEA is an “**I**spiration to **D**emonstrate and **E**mulate towards an effective **A**chievements. stated by Sione Tualau Mangisi, a retired Chief Establishment Officer of the Government of Tonga from the village of Ha’avakatolo, Tonga. Sione Tu’alau Mangisi, 2006.

²²⁷ Taufe’ulungaki, "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?." (2002), 5.

This chapter is a personal touch of who am I and the pains I have gone through not only locally but also worldwide. It is personal in the sense that I view the subject matter from within an insider parameter – my experience and mind – reflecting upon the long-time enslavement in the midst of these surviving legacies of material culture in context. For education Konaiholeva Helu Thaman asserted as “autobiographic and about culture”, and a general indicator of our local situation noted; “I believe that what is happening in education in our region is necessary a broader reflection of what is happening to us – people who have had to translate foreign ideas which we have learned as a result of our personal and cultural histories, and the complexity of conceptualising these ideas in our varied and changing contexts.”²²⁸

In the end, education should not only be received as an insular “form of thought” for theorization incapable of being practically applied in real life situation rather, it can turn to become “a way of life.” In disciplinary terms, educational realities should be applicable and be able to be lived by the colonized people (under study) according to their own beliefs. It should able to solve the problems of colonization imposed upon the weak by others and set the marginalized majority of the global world in liberty.

Education should also safeguard the culture of the colonized which Linda Tuhiwai Smith warned against a wipe off of a culture, of valuable sources of wisdom, and perhaps an “extermination or domestication” of a group of people from the face of the earth.²²⁹

²²⁸ Thaman, "Towards Cultural Democracy in Pacific Education: An Imperative for the 21st Century." (2002), 22.

²²⁹ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. (1999), 26.

CHAPTER FOUR: Literature Review for possible concepts in Literatures.

4.1. The General Literature:

I must firstly and firmly admit that what I do now (in writing) contradicts the spirit of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* itself. Nevertheless, I understand, there are various ways of narrating a literature review for a history project for this level of study. However, I begin by stating there are only two parallel lines of historiography; the oral and the documented. Within the oral realm, there are embodiments in arts and crafts, and graphing by engraving, portraits, sculpturing, weaving, designing and grafting patterns in crafting and embodiments in human flesh and bloods; whereas with documentation by way of “writing” on papers as its main basis. The former is said to be the more problematic by outsiders, only because, they find it hard to interpret, and do not understand how to make sense the evidences and the embedded “multiple voices” in the cultural contexts where they could be interpreted and made relevance.²³⁰

A re-view of the whole literature that will accommodate all that is related in oral and documentation is somewhat impossible because of the word limit. However, I will limit myself to search through some related sources that would answer the question of “what is?” and “what as/” about the past of Tonga. The “what is?” and “what as?” questions are used here to represent the views of the Tongan people (Oral & documented) and the views of foreign observers from a distance (documented). Limiting myself to that task, will, in my view, only include a graft of selected literatures to situate the argument of this thesis in proper context. Thus, in order to understand the context in which *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as information and works of history is developed, it is important to appreciate its whole build-up as literature in oral context of what Mohenoa Puloka says about Tongan *nonofo a kainga* – as “socio-psyche force” of Tongan society²³¹ In particular, for Tongan way of life Konai Helu Thaman admitted that being Tongan and *mo’ui fakatonga* is a way of life of “a belief and reliance in a supernatural.”²³² Thaman also admitted that

²³⁰ Referred to by Borofsky, "An Invitation." (2000), 1.

²³¹ In “Foreword,” of Tevita Tonga Mohenoa Puloka, ed. *Sia'atoutai Theological College: Handbook, 2006* (Nafualu Sia'atoutai Theological College 2006).

²³² Appreciatively, with due respect to Konai. I see the brilliance of the Helu family who were Custodian of the last known historic *Palatavake* of Tonga and how that spirit of good stewardship – was guided by the “total reverence and belief in the supernatural” that have provided light in this family of Tonga to be stewards of “Poto” and “‘Ilo” as in RIP Futa Helu, and now through the descendants of the Helu family. Humbly admitted, this spirit

Western education has not caused her to shift from that way of life. Instead, she is proud to have always sought “supernatural guidance.”

My Western education has not caused me to shift from a belief and reliance in the supernatural...I am a Tongan woman of the commoner class, and although schooled in Western ways, I continue to see myself as part of an organic unity, not as a chance result of natural selection at work in a world devoid of supernatural guidance...²³³

Thaman above, in my view, endorsed how *Tala-ʻotua* – theological commitment prevailed in her life, from Tongan old religion to further enriched by the Christian theological understanding and, yet still acknowledged the significant part played by God in life. Attempting to make sense that theological experience in the context of this globalized world is not easy, but as Thaman acknowledges, it is possible that one can stand firm in such belief.

It is one thing to attempt to keep the integrity of the reality in its indigenous form and another thing translating/contextualizing it in phrases of foreign language to make sense to the readers of another language. This is the greatest issue in this level of academic study. Speaking in my Tongan language means one thing and translating it to English may not get the exact reality in the heart of the speaker. That is, to me, the heart of global education – translating of wisdom from one to another medium.²³⁴ The problem on the many translations of the original version of Maori Treaty of Waitangi to English, for example, is the best illustration for this problem of translation/transforming knowledge from one language to another.²³⁵ Manipulations may occur

is felt within, while reading her works and the spirit is being carried onto the present and into education in Tala-Tukufakaholo way. Malo ʻaupito e Lotu mo e Ngaue. Thaman, "Decolonizing Pacific Studies: Indigenous Perspectives, Knowledge, and Wisdom in Higher Education." 1.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Only because of the demand of this study, I do it in English. In my presentations of papers on Tongan history conferences (and history classes at STC) I present it in Tongan language and ask for translator. But before I begin my speech I make it clear at the outset that what I will speak about in Tongan will not be the exact reality that the translator will say, and that is, to me is the main issue in education – transforming knowledge from one to another form. But, this is, in my view, the driving factor of world Education, because one claims to know something about a reality, but that knowledge is re-viewed and contested by another from one's perspective and find out at the end, that knowledge is one's own view about the reality, rather than the reality itself. I may boast to know my concept, but admittedly, I do not. But by embarking on the topic, I realized I do not know more or less. In engaging others, we all make a clearer view only of it. I relate my view to Hau'ofa's comment on contesting of sources in Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Past to Remember." (2000), 456.; and Thaman's poem on "Thinking" stating; "but thinking belongs in the depths of the earth, we simply borrow what we need to know one's borrow from the deep." See in her Poem "Thinking."

²³⁵ See for example the article by Rev. Gary Clover, "Mangungu Evidence Supports Maori Understandings of the Treaty [Waitangi]." *Touchstone: Exploring Faith Issues for Today* 2017 . p. 5.

because of the involvement of the translator. I have always tried to maintain the integrity of the studied reality in its indigenous form and rationale, and in that way, it may appear ungrammatical or irrational in the English language.

Nevertheless, I am consoled by the fact that other Tongan scholars have studied the literatures regarding Pacific education; Tongan education and Tongan history and historiography and they asked the same question, for a shift towards the alternative.

I do this re-view of literature with acknowledgement of the works on Pacific education the Colloquium achieved on “Re-thinking Pacific education” and published in the *Tree of Opportunity*,²³⁶ that suggest “alternative” followed by the PRIDE project publication,²³⁷ which highlights the “indigenous thinking about Planning for education in Oceania”. Maori researcher Linda Tuhiwai Smith,²³⁸ suggests “decolonizing methodology for Pacific research”, and Peter Buck²³⁹ documented the history of the Coming of the Maori people to Aotearoa. The great works of Sewati Tuwere²⁴⁰ that connects “Vanua and Theology” for a “reconciliation by re-defining Fijian identity”, with David Baleiwaqa,²⁴¹ study of the “influences of Methodism in the formation of Fijian identity. Unaise Nabobo,²⁴² warned the computer tigers and suggested a school of Indigenous studies at USP, and Litea Sewabu²⁴³ argument of a “weaving model for Fijian research”, and Albert Wendt²⁴⁴ who followed up the *Lali* publication and collected different islanders writings which present a

²³⁶ Cliff Benson, ed. *Tree of Opportunity: Rethinking Pacific Education*(The University of the South Pacific: Institute of Education, 2002).

²³⁷ Priscilla Puamau and G.R. (Bob) Teasedale, eds., *Educational Planning in the Pacific: Principles and Guidelines* Pacific Education Series No. 1. (The University of the South Pacific The PRIDE Project, 2005).

²³⁸ Smith Tuhiwai Linda, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*(London: Zed Books Ltd, 1999).

²³⁹ Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori*.

²⁴⁰ Tuwere, *Vanua: Towards a Fijian Theology of Place*.

²⁴¹ Baleiwaqa, "Rerevaka Na Kalou Ka Doka Na Tui Fear God and Honour the King: The Influence of the Wesleyan Methodists on the Institutions of Fijian Identity ".

²⁴² Unaisi Nabobo, "Computer Tigers and Coconut Trees " in *Tree of Opportunity: Re-Thinking Pacific Education* ed. Cliff Benson(The university of the South Pacific Institute of Education 2002).

²⁴³ Dr. Litea Meo Sewabu, ""Tu Ga Na Inima Ka Luvu Na Waga" Literally Means “the Bail Is in the Boat, yet the Boat Sinks”" (Massey University, 2016).

²⁴⁴ Wendt, "Inside Us the Dead ".; Albert Wendt, ed. *Nuanua: Pacific Writing in Englis since 1980*, Talanoa Contemporary Literature (Honolulu University of Hawaii Press 1995).

rainbow quality of rich and colourful skills, of passion, anger, humour, delight and complex insights” by Pacific writers.

I also acknowledge here the works of Tongan scholars who have walked this alternative lane in education by Futa Helu²⁴⁵ who instituted his own school and published his contextual way of viewing education. Epeli Hau'ofa²⁴⁶ who headed the USP Department of Cultural Studies advocated his re-view of the situation and suggested the move towards alternative in his “Epilogue” on Robert Borofsky’s work.²⁴⁷ Borofsky’s work has opened up Talanoa for Pacific Oral past and Hau’ofa’s Epilogue have summed it up well. The great literature of Konaiholeva Helu Thaman²⁴⁸ for Pacific education and poetic forms enlightens some spaces for my discussion of this thesis work. ‘Ana Maui Taufe’ulungaki,²⁴⁹ who argued the alternative move and has incorporated the talk in the Tonga Ministry of Education curriculum.²⁵⁰ Nasili Vaka’uta²⁵¹ on biblical studies argued the “alter-native” as shifting of views of the natives to account to the

²⁴⁵ Helu, *Critical Essays: Cultural Perspectives from the South Seas*.; *Ko E Heilala Tangitangi 'O Salote Pilolevu: Ko E Vete Mo E 'Analaiso 'O E Ngaahi Hiva, Maau, Ta'anga, Langi, Hiva Kakala, Etc*(Nuku'alofa: 'Atenis Press, 2006.); Futa Helu et al., "Talateu " in *Faikava: A Tongan Literary Journal* ed. Barbara Hau'ofa(Nuku'alofa Barbara and Government Printer 1978).

²⁴⁶ Epeli Hau'ofa, "Old Wine in New Bottles " *ibid.*(Barbara Hau'ofa and Government Printer); "Our Sea of Islands," in *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*, ed. Vijay Naidu, Waddel Eric, and Epeli Hau'ofa(Suva: School of Social and Economic Developments, The University of the South Pacific, 1993).; "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember."

²⁴⁷ Robert Borofsky, ed. *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History*(Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000).

²⁴⁸ Konai Helu Thaman, "Bush Medicine " in *Faikava: A Tongan Literary Journal* ed. Barbara Hau'ofa(Nuku'alofa Barbara Hau'ofa and Government Printer 1978); "Reef Walking: A Poem," in *Faikava: A Tongan Literary Journal* ed. Barbara Hau'ofa(Nuku'alofa Barbara Hau'ofa and Government Printer 1978).;"Looking Towards the Source: A Consideration of (Cultural) Context in Teacher Education".; "Concepts of Learning, Knowledge and Wisdom in Tonga, and Their Relevance to Modern Tonga."; *Hingano: Selected Poems, 1966-1986* (Suva Bluebird Printery 2000).; "Towards Cultural Democracy in Pacific Education: An Imperative for the 21st Century."; "Decolonizing Pacific Studies: Indigenous Perspectives, Knowledge, and Wisdom in Higher Education."; "In the Footsteps of a Male Mother."

²⁴⁹ Taufe'ulungaki, "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?." (2002); Taufe'ulungaki, "Keynote Address by the Minister for Education, Women Affairs and Culture." (2011).

²⁵⁰ Dr. 'Anamaui was Minister of Education for Tonga government from 4 January 2011 – 4 January 2015.

²⁵¹ Vaka'uta, "*Talanga*: A Tongan Mode of Interpretation."

colonized. I acknowledge the work of the first Tongan scholar Okusitino Mahina²⁵² who have argued the values of oral tradition for Tonga history and historiography. He has laid the ground work for this thesis, but differently from his argument, I use the term *Tala-Tukufakabolo* in this thesis study as the alternative overarching framework for Tonga history and historiography.

Apart from Okusitino Mahina's PhD work on "Tala-e-Fonua", and Robert Borofsky's edited work on *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An invitation to remake history*, no work has been done specifically on *Tala-Tukufakabolo* concept.

The main underpinning of the *Tala-Tukufakabolo* argument is to argue that Tonga has its own history based on its own oral historiography, but had been suppressed, marginalized and the minds of the Tongan people, at the wake of European Imperialism and Colonization of Oceania, had been colonized to some degree, thus left a drought in the field. This point had been acknowledged by Ian Campbell of the existence of "Tongan historical knowledge of their own, transmitted orally and unrecorded, but keeps alive a different historical tradition."²⁵³ The same was also acknowledged by Niel Gunson in his presentation on the first ever Tonga History Association conference in ANU, 1987, to be an "undocumented but very influential." Further, on the same occasion Gunson asserted that "All discussion on Tongan historiography should begin with sources."²⁵⁴ These are the two benchmarks that underpin this thesis work.

All literatures (information/works) about the past of Tonga are, in my view, one way or another a build-up of literatures of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* history and historiography. On one hand, as literature of information, it was a build-up of oral tradition, verbally transmitted, stored in memory, or crafted onto objects, lands and sea-scape, embodied in human flesh and bloods and or lived in normal days' life activities. These are known in Campbell's term as "demotic history".²⁵⁵ On the other hand, documented works built up the written literatures – the views of others as they interpret past events from their own view points, situations in life and agenda-dised historical pursuits. It is said, that of all Pacific Island nations, Tonga's oral legacies and classified historical literature claim to be the best.

²⁵² Mahina, "The Tongan Traditional History *Tala-E-Fonua*: A Vernacular Ecology-Centred Historico-Cultural Concept." (1992).

²⁵³ Campbell, "A History Policy for Tonga." (2011), 31.

²⁵⁴ Gunson, "Tongan Historiography: Shamanic Views of Time and History." (1996), 13.

²⁵⁵ Campbell, "A History Policy for Tonga." (2011), 31.

Again, literatures of Tonga history are either Oral or Documented. Documented works of history ranges from general cultural studies to mission and biographical histories.²⁵⁶ Whether oral information or documented works about the past of Tonga; they are all, in my re-view of literature as expressed views on, and backed up of the associated survived legacies on land and human culture; and are forms of literatures. Robert Borofsky noted in his “An Invitation” to re-view materials in Pacific varied pasts of “writings, memories, chants, artefacts, and landscapes waiting to be discovered (and rediscovered)”²⁵⁷ and to be made sense of, according to the beliefs of the people under study.

The oral information ranges from stories of the gods to cosmological and ethnographic narratives; successions of kingships for ten centuries; the genealogies and tales of the lands to Tapu rituals and ethos of living a moral life. Associating these stories with living tradition, surviving legacies, and culture of the indigenous values contained in “literary tradition” of “oratory, myths, tales and poetry,”²⁵⁸ one may be able to read a story of the past life as the Bayeux Tapestry.²⁵⁹ In the way Queen Matilda instructed her women to weave and produced the given patterns and designs portrait on Tapestry, so as the *Tala-Tukunfakaholo* (ancestors) instruct the generation of the day to paint the designs on the *Ngatu* and plaited the woven *Fala Lalanga*. They all portray stories of Tongan ancestral wisdom. The “literary tradition” of “oratory, myths, tales and poetry,” are stories told of events of the past in rhetoric forms and they are used as sources. Although they could, in my view, be classified as “secondary documented sources”, produced by Tongan poets themselves. This is, because they are interpreted facts of the stories of past events, composed in *heliaki* - metaphoric and symbolic language to tell stories of, and encapsulate the voices con-joined in that past event in the best of Tongan language [*Punake*]. Tongan people still treasure these indigenous realities and admire them for their cultural activities today. The best example for this group of secondary sources (in Tongan indigenous oral tradition) is the edited work of Elizabeth Wood-Ellem titled; *Songs and Poems of Queen Salote*.²⁶⁰ While Queen Salote focussed on bringing the “what

²⁵⁶ See a comprehensive review of literatures of Tonga history in Latu, *Latu, Fakaongo and Tau'ataina* (2015), 28-56.

²⁵⁷ Borofsky, "An Invitation." (2000), 1.

²⁵⁸ Referred to by editors in Futa Helu et al, "Foreword," in *Faikava: A Tongan Literary Journal* ed. Barbara Hau'ofa, *Faikava* (Nuku'alofa Barbara Hau'ofa and Government Printer 1978). 1.

²⁵⁹ William's half brother Odo, *Bayeux Tapestry*

²⁶⁰ Elizabeth Wood-Ellem, ed. *Songs & Poems of Queen Salote* (Tonga: Vava'u Press, 2004).

is?” of Tongan history in metaphoric forms, Wood-Ellem was engaged with her interpretation to bring out what I may term as the “what as?” of the scrutinized events of history.

Stories of and about the past are being recollected in various forms. Documentation of the oral literary tradition in the first place shifted the reality from the oral memory of the generations onto hard objects. I see the documented composition in itself, as “primary documented source” as in the document of “*Tutulu...*”²⁶¹. One of the first ever publication from Tonga was the “Idiomatic Phrases” published by the Wesleyan Missionary the Rev. Stephen Rabone, (1845), and also “Proverbial sayings of the Tongan” published by Collocott and Jione Havea in 1922²⁶² are both literary traditional anecdote in indigenous metaphoric form of viewing the social events and realities of the past of Tonga. Commentaries made upon the “*Tutulu*” and other compositions on primary documented sources by interpreters and commentators are second-hand viewers and their business is to interpret the documented facts, thus they comprise the secondary sources category as in Futa Helu’s “Huluhulu...”²⁶³ Helu’s other commentary works on Queen Salote’s compositions were published as *Heilala Tangitangi* – the stinging smells of the Heilala flowers fragrances.²⁶⁴ Konaiholeva Helu Thaman’s poems are one of the hidden treasures of Tongan culture and historiography that is to be recognized here as a literature.²⁶⁵ Commenting on Thaman’s poems another Tongan scholar ‘Anapesi Ka’ili stated; “It ruptures the idea that formal education

²⁶¹ Kuini Salote, "Ko E Tutulu 'a 'Ene 'Afio 'I He Pekia 'a Fusipala " in *Faikava: A Tongan Literary Journal* ed. Barbara Hau'ofa(Nuku'alofa Barbara Hau'ofa and Government Printer 1978).5-6, And "Ko E Tutulu 'a 'Ene 'Afio 'I He Pekia 'a Tuku'aho " in *Faikava: A Literary Tongan Journal* ed. Barbara Hau'ofa(Nuku'alofa Barbara Hau'ofa and Government Printer 1978). 7-8.

²⁶² Ernest Edgar Vyvyan Collocott and John Havea, *Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans*(Honolulu: Bishop Muesum Press, 1922).

²⁶³ Futa Helu, "Huluhulu - Tutulu 'a 'Ene 'Afio Ki He Pekia 'a Fusipala " in *Faikava; a Tongan Literary Journal* ed. Barbara Hau'ofa(Nuku'alofa Barbara Hau'ofa and Government Printer 1978). 6-7; "Huluhulu - Tutulu 'a Kuini 'I He Pekia 'a Tuku'aho " in *Faikava: A Tongan Literary Journal* ed. Barbara Hau'ofa(Nuku'alofa Barbara Hau'ofa and Government Printer 1978).

²⁶⁴ Helu, *Ko E Heilala Tangitangi 'O Salote Pilolevu: Ko E Vete Mo E 'Analaiso 'O E Ngaahi Hiva, Maau, Ta'anga, Langi, Hiva Kakala, Etc.*

²⁶⁵ Many other poems written by Thaman included; Thaman, "Reef Walking: A Poem."; “Thinking” a poem she recited during her keynote speech at Hawaii on "Decolonizing Pacific Studies: Indigenous Perspectives, Knowledge, and Wisdom in Higher Education."

is the only space where knowledge is created and produced!”²⁶⁶ These literatures are built up in one way or another of the rainbow[ic] nature of the *Tala-Tukufakaholo* history.

British explorer and navigator Captain James Cook witnessed a Katoanga ‘Inasi – the biennial tributes of first fruits to the Tu’i Tonga in 1777.

Normally the ‘inasi was carried out at Tongatapu, but the one Mariner saw was, of course, at Vava‘u. The men walked just as Cook described, with a heavy tread as if their burdens were of immense weight. Mariner’s interpretation is that this was intended to convey to the gods how good they were to give such large and heavy yams.²⁶⁷

One should note the “what as?” shallow view of the outsiders on the purpose of the Katoanga ‘inasi on this phrase; “intended to convey to the gods how good they were to give such large and heavy yams.” Instead, the “what is?” was an indigenous way of every ha’a – lineages offering the first fruits of every catch, farm produces, handicrafts or other vices to the Tu’i Tonga (Baulaho at the time) in seeking supernatural retributions and guidance. In today’s Tongan way of life is wearing Ta’ovala – wearing waist mats was a way of paying respect to the land as our mother.²⁶⁸ Another is Faka‘Tapu – honouring the presence of God in and about, and asking for the mana of the ancestors to bless the occasion. More, it is *faka’aki’akimui*²⁶⁹ - humbly acknowledging oneself in honour and respect all others before you,²⁷⁰ is truly an indigenous Tongan cultural virtue. For obvious reason, Thaman sought the mana from the spirit of the indigenous people of Hawai‘i, and of the land to bless the occasion where she delivered her keynote speech.

²⁶⁶ ‘Anapaesi Ka’ili on her “Words from the Wise” blogspot. <http://anapesi.blogspot.co.nz/2008/11/words-from-wise-dr-konai-helu-thaman.html> (accessed 06.02.2017).

²⁶⁷ An Account of the eighteenth century, Tonga: Captain Cook’s View of Tonga, 45. Source: http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/docs/Memoirs/mem_044/mem_044_01.pdf (accessed 06.02.2017).

²⁶⁸ Sione ‘Amanaki Havea, “Interpretation and Hermeneutic Class”, Sia’atoutai Theological College, Nafualu, Tonga, 1988.

²⁶⁹ H.M. Queen Salote’s ecored the Four Cardinal virtues of Tongan Culture which included: “*Faka’apa’apa; Faka’aki’akimui, Ta’efieauna and Ofaongongofua.*” Salote, “*Ko E Tohi ‘a ‘Ene ‘Afio, 1958-59*, (the Writings of Queen Salote).”

²⁷⁰ As did Konai Helu Thaman on her delivering of the key note speech entitled; “Decolonizing Pacific Studies: Indigenous Perspectives, Knowledge, and Wisdom in Higher Education” at the 50th anniversary of the Center of Pacific Studies, Hawai‘i, 2003.

I therefore, Faka'Tapu and seek the mana of my ancestors who are owners and custodians of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* to allow me to have dialogue with the ANU scholar Niel Gunson, Ian Campbell and all others before me who have produced huge works of literature for Tonga history and historiography. For Gunson in particular who asserted that “any discussion on Tongan historiography must begin with sources”²⁷¹ listed five sources; “the living tradition”, “the dead traditions,” “the genealogies,” “the primary written documents”, and “the secondary written material,” and, in my view, all of these sources build-up the *Tala-Tukufakabolo* history and historiography. For the first category of Gunson’s list “the living tradition”, he noted they were “largely undocumented but very influential” and that explains well what is *Tala-Tukufakabolo* proper – the living human community on land who possess the associated corpus logus of ancestral wisdom as source of knowledge, associated with survived historical legacies on land. For the same, Ian Campbell noted; “Tongan possess historical knowledge of their own, transmitted orally unrecorded but which keeps alive a different historical tradition.”²⁷² While foreigners’ view that oral historical tradition and allocated them as ‘fragmented and unscientific’, still, that unrecorded orality is the heart of *Tala-Tukufakabolo*. They needed re-view because of their influential impact on the life of the Tongan people. While the space provided for this thesis study is limited, I will focus my re-view on indigenous sources with acknowledgement of the large amount of available secondary literatures.

I state at this outset that all information about life existed in oral *Tala-Tukufakabolo* form in time immemorial before they were documented in any form of writing, crafts or otherwise. The Christian Bible, the Quran (Koran) the religious text of the Islam, the Bhagavad Gita scripture of the Hindus; for example, to name a few all testify to this argument. This work does not understand fully why Tongan people had continued to maintain their orality to date without documenting it in the palangi way.²⁷³ It all began when the ancestral generations who were owners of the *Tala-*

²⁷¹ Gunson, "Tongan Historiography: Shamanic Views of Time and History." (1996), 13.

²⁷² Campbell, "A History Policy for Tonga." (2011), 31.

²⁷³ I have shared my view on this aspect of this thesis work, wherein Perpetua’s weaving way, I weave during the day and undo it in the night, because of my great reverence and love to my ancestors who are owners and custodians of *Tala-Tukufakabolo*. I do not understand whether they allow us later generations to document the oral *Tala-Tukufakabolo* and account to the need of the Western institution (as with this university degree study), or rather leave them in oral form. I just do not know whether, what I am doing right now, to be honest. If there was one thing that would force me to do this study, and it is the need to well inform the future generations of the situation and the need. My aspiration that we work towards positive way, to forget about colonization and move on to a more holistic ground and encapsulate all realities, and accommodate all

information of wisdom from the past and beyond and also curators of the *Fonua* - land of Tonga, began their way of living, and used them as sources of knowledge in the way they lived according to their beliefs, to answer their questions about themselves and beyond.

With respect to Gunson's five sources acknowledged above, from *Tala-Tukufakaholo* I suggest the following as sources for Tongan historiography from indigenous culture of Tonga. These *Tala* are, in my view, the main sources of influences to the life, worldview and behaviour of Tongan people for centuries. Such is the rationale of my argument to have them as sources of historiography because people not only possess them as "form of thought" knowledge about life (alongside the Western conventional) but lived them as "way of life" in their day to day life activities. They drew from these sources wisdom and knowledge for their life activities.

4.2. ***Tala-Tukufakaholo* and associated concepts:**

The first and the most influential of all is; its ***Tala-'otua*** (theology in indigenous sense) the stories about the pantheon of gods - *Kau Tangaloa*, *Kau Mani* and *Hikule'o* whom were creator and governor gods. No one knows where it came from and how it had influenced the people of Tonga to believe in it for centuries. As a body of wisdom in itself, it had great influences for centuries.

The concept ***Tala-'otua*** means "the wisdoms or the origins of the Tongan pantheons of the gods." The second definition can also mean the "Tales of the 'EiTu – the Polynesian god." The last definition can also mean "the Tales of the Beyond," or the outsiders.

This source is the baseline of Tongan culture, worldview and people's aspirations in life. In other words, it came as a "form of religious thought" and it had greatly influenced a great "way of life," to have been lived for ten centuries now. This *Tala* about the Tongan pantheon of gods are recorded by the genius Wesleyan missionary James Egan Moulton (1865-1906),²⁷⁴ in his article

generations and interested scholars to the field. It is everyone's task to fulfil – to build up *Tala-Tukufakaholo* that had been passed down to us from our ancestors of every nation, tribes, race and the global society at large.

²⁷⁴ James Egan moulton was a Methodist missionary to Tonga and spent long service terms of 40 years in Tonga, enough to learn the language, and grasp to a large extent of the Tongan tradition and culture. "Most of his information was taken from the lips of the 'Last of the Bards,' once a heathen chief called Tongavalevale, who was the repository of their folk-lore and ballads." Moulton was also able to have access to John Thomas unpublished journals, the first Wesleyan missionary to make a lengthened stay, 1826-1855. See J E Moulton, "Tongans," in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh: T & T Clark,, 1921). 380.

“Tongans” and his “Notes on Tongan History and Tongan Legends.”²⁷⁵ In the context of the *Tala-‘otua* were the three classes of gods, they were each known to have lived in their three separate domains of the *Langi* (Kau Tangaloa), *Fonua* (Hikule’o) and *Lolofonua* (Kau Maui) respectively. Moulton noted;

Physically, then, and mentally, the Tongans stand high; and it comes as a surprise that their spiritual development, as represented by their old religion, was low. Their pantheon was a medley, and their theology unredeemed by any gleams of philosophy as in the religion of India.²⁷⁶

The medley of the pantheon of the Kau Tangaloa comprised of Tangaloa ‘Eiki, (the Elder) Tangaloa *Tufunga* (the Smith, Carpenter, Artificer who made axes and build canoes), Tangaloa ‘Atulongolongo (sender forth of sound) all came from Langi (sky). There were older gods whom were Tama-bo’uli-ala-mafoa (Son-of-darkness-that-can-have-a-dawn), and ‘Eitumatubu’a (‘Eitu-of-the-olden-times) who is the father of the Tongan people. This Tala-‘otua concept gives me the name Tangaloans/Tangaroans/Taaroans of Oceania to replace the Western derived term of Polynesia²⁷⁷ – many islands. About the naming of our many islands as Polynesia Hau’ofa states;

the small island states and territories of the Pacific, that is, all of Polynesia and Micronesia, are much too small, too poorly endowed with resources, and too isolated from the centres of economic growth for their inhabitants ever to be able to rise above their present condition of dependence on the largesse of wealthy nations.²⁷⁸

The Kau Maui who resided in the Lolofonua – underworld consisted of five persons; Maui Motu’a (old Maui the Father), Maui Loa (the Tall), Maui Buku (the short), Maui ‘Atalanga (the plover - vigorous planter), who had son named Maui Kijikiji (the Mischievous). They kept the fire going and created lands through volcano eruptions. Two types of islands found on Tonga today – are

²⁷⁵ Ibid. 376.; See also James Egan Moulton, "Notes on Tongan History and Tongan Legends," in *PMB Manuscript* (Canberra: Australia National University Library, Pacific Manuscript Bureau, n.d.).

²⁷⁶ Moulton, "Tongans." (1921), 376.

²⁷⁷ "Polynesia (UK: /ˌpɒlɪˈniːziə/; US: /ˌpɑːləˈniːziə/, from Greek: πολύς "poly" many + Greek: νῆσος "nēsos" island) is a subregion of Oceania, made up of over 1,000 islands scattered over the central and southern Pacific Ocean." Source: www.dictionary.com/browse/polynesia (accessed 07.02.2017).

²⁷⁸ See also Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands." 150.

either coral islands from the creation of Tangaloa like Tongatapu, part of Ha'apai islands and Vava'u, while others are volcanic islands, like Tofua, Kao, Fonualei, Niuafo'ou islands.²⁷⁹

Hikule'o, was the god of the Fonua (world) and Pulotu (purgatory world) whose tail was a rope attached with one end which was kept by Tangaloa in the sky and the other was held by Maui on underworld. *Taufulifonua* assigned the Sea to Hemoana (Hea of the deep sea), and the jungle to Lube (Dove).

There are three Kafa attached to the hangar of the Kumete. These kafa symbolized in the Taumafa Kava of Fulitaunga protocol, three significant positions and the holder of those positions. The first and foremost Kafa in importance leads to the Olovaha – Tu'i who presides at the apex of the Kava forum. The second kafa leads on to the Matapule Fakatauala (orator) of the forum. The third kafa leads to the position of the Matapule Fakafeangai (honour). These three positions represent the whole Tongan society. The Tu'i represent the head of the nation, the Orator is the navigator who will organize and navigate the whole procedures of the forum; the last represent the people, visitors and foreigners who reside in the society. These Kafa are all bind to the hangar of the Tanoa.²⁸⁰

Associating the *Tala-'otua* – pantheon of gods with the second source; *Tala-tupu'anga* - cosmology – tales about how the cosmos situated the gods in their respective domains. The respective assignments of the gods to their domains, upon which they each lived the three-decked world constituted the Tongan worldview. I acknowledge the art and description of the Tongan world of the Tongan people below. Niel Gunson described it as his illustration;

...take a coconut and cleave it into two....and imagine the ocean floating in the lower half. The rock of creation rises up in the centre. The world in the shape of one's particular islands rises to one side. On the other, out of side, because it is very far away, is Pulotu, a mirror image of the world. In real life, as every navigator knows, it is beyond the horizon. Under the ocean is the Underworld, known in Tonga as Lolo fonua, the realm of the Maui. At the base of the coconut shell is a cavern of volcano fire. Between the known world and Pulotu is an underworld passage.²⁸¹

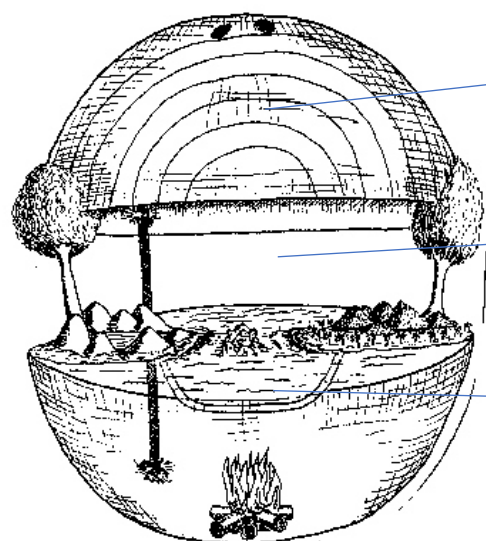
²⁷⁹ See in Edward Winslow Gifford, *Tongan Society: Bernice P. Bishop Museum*, Publication Number 16 vols., vol. Bulletin 61, (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1985).

²⁸⁰ See discussions of Tongan religion in Wood, *History and Geography of Tonga*. 3.

²⁸¹ Gunson, "Tongan Historiography: Shamanic Views of Time and History." (1996), 16.

According to the *Tala 'otua* -gods, each god peopled the three-decked world and even *Pulotu*. Gunson further explained; “upon the top half of the coconut are seven layers of heaven which appear to rest upon the tops of the gigantic trees. The tree of *To'onangakava* on the home island is a huge *toa* – iron tree used by one of the gods or *'otua* to come to earth.” Tradition holds there is also a tree in Pulotu known as the “Akaulea or Pukolea” which Gunson also described as “the talking *Hernandia* tree – called the Pukatala in Samoa and Futuna. At its roots is a lake or spring called Vaiola.”²⁸²

That, takes us to the third Source; which is the ***Tala-e-Fonua*** – Tales of the Land. Each domain has its own tala and ritual lived by each of the assigned gods. Niel Gunson in his "Tongan Historiography: Shamanic Views of Time and History"



Langi: The sky is dwelling place of Tangaloa pantheon, one of which father of first Tu'i Tonga, another creates coral islands from saw dust of his workshop, one overseer.

Fonua: The mother land gives birth to cosmos and welcomes at deaths, governed by Hikule'o, who resides in Pulotu, the purgatory world where the spirits of the chief rest.

Lolofonua: The underworld is the dwelling place of the Kau Maui, who controls the fire and create lands through volcano eruptions.

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Figure 4.1. Gunson's work above illustrates well the Tongan worldview – a holistic view in terms of its tripartite nature. It captures the heavens, the underworld and the land with Pulotu, the whole of how Tongan views their cosmic world.

From this indigenous medley of *The Tala-'otua*, *Tala-Tupu'a* and *Tala-e-Fonua* emanated, in my view the fourth source: which is **Tala-'a-Kainga** - three classes of people of the hierarchy; *Tu'i*, *'Eiki*,

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Ibid. (1996), 17.

²⁸⁴ This diagram is adapted with great indebtedness to Niel Gunson whose portrait explain the Tongan three decked world, the domains of the gods and the Tongan world view on ibid. 17.

and *Kainangae fonua* that lived in the society. This body of source constituted the *Tala-'a Kainga* – genealogical inter-relations through blood connections of all kainga from ancestors down to the present. Each class have their own tala of life and the Tangaloa gods who came from the sky successively inherited ruler ship of Tonga as Ha'a T'u'i Tonga. Later lineages of Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua, Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu and the presently ruling of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou. (More discussion of the Ha'a Tu'i on chapter 5.) Fragmented as they may be, they nevertheless comprise a pathway to the past better than nothing of history to take as springboard for any research into the past of Tonga.

Tala of the *Tupu'anga* of Tongan people referred to in the works of archaeologist David V. Burley stated; “Polynesians, became Polynesians some time near the middle of the first millennium BC, after 600 years of isolation in the remote archipelago of Tonga.”²⁸⁵ Based upon that assertion, Tonga is the cradle of the Polynesian civilizations. Burley further stated that Polynesians were not migrated from anywhere to Tonga, they were made Polynesians in Tonga. His statement; “...became Polynesians” and the place of “their becoming Polynesians was Tonga.” This claim agrees with Masiu Moala's *Efinanga* who argued from indigenous *Tala-Tukufakabolo* suggested something similar to the claim that Tongans were created on the land of Tonga.²⁸⁶ This view is commonly held by old Tongan informants.

In a conversation with Gareth Grainger, the author of *Ata, the Chief of Hihifo*,²⁸⁷ and a prolific writer of Tongan history and the authority in Tongan Kingdoms genealogies commented that manipulation only occurred at the time of documentation; one cannot manipulate the genealogies and the successions of lineages of the past because the living community testify to oral genealogy and it had stood the test of time (ten centuries). It is manifested in one way or another in the surviving community. The living community testify to the oral past, and concluded that they are; “living history as artefacts.”²⁸⁸ Ian Campbell from his power politic view point have listed all

²⁸⁵ David V. Burley, "Tonga's Lapita Beginning and Its Role in Polynesian Origin," in *Tonga and Tongans Heritage and Identity* ed. Elizabeth Wood-Ellem (Alphington Melbourne: Elizabeth Wood-Ellem and Tonga Research Association 2007). 5.

²⁸⁶ Masiu Moala, *Efinanga: Ko E Ngaahi Tala Mo E Anga Fakafonua 'O Tonga* (Nuku'alofa Lali 1994).

²⁸⁷ Gareth G.S Grainger and Pasemata Ve'ehala Vi Taunisila, *The Ata Chiefs of Hihifo: 1700-1850* (Canberra Gareth Grainger & Pomegranate Production, 2009).

²⁸⁸ Fr. Gareth Simon Grainger,. Talanoa, Melbourne, January, 2017.

Tongan Ha'a Tu'i in his *Classical Tongan Kingships* under the headship of the three indigenous dynastic formations of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga, Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua, and Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu.²⁸⁹

This work also acknowledges the first scholarly work on Tongan oral history by 'Okusitino Mahina who argued the concept of *Tala-e-Fonua* as his framework in his PhD thesis work titled; "The Tongan traditional history tala-e-fonua: a vernacular ecology-centred historico-cultural concept."²⁹⁰ Mahina's work was endorsed by the scholar who holds the authority over the subject of Tongan history and historiography; Epeli Hau'ofa. He welcomed Mahina as the "new generation of scholars" and "...here in the making was a new Pacific historiography by an Oceanian scholar."²⁹¹ Hau'ofa also highlighted the main issue in the field which is the question of whether there are legitimate histories other than the "mainline histories". He also concluded, that if there was, then Tongan history is "as old as our remembered pasts."²⁹²

A re-view of Mahina's *Tala-e-Fonua* concept and my *Tala-Tukufakaholo* argument shows differed outcomes. Mahina argues *Tala-e-Fonua* to encapsulate the whole of Tongan history and historiography, based upon the tales of the Land, and is land-based. I see *Tala-e-Fonua* as part of the sources I discussed above. Tales of the land represents only part of the whole *Tala-Tukufakaholo*, rather than the whole itself. Tales of each territorial lands of Tonga holds different traditional versions and to amalgamate them all into making one whole argument would, in my view, be a problem. My argument of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* is based upon the *Tala*-words that was passed down from the ancestral past constitutes Tonga history and historiography in its totality. This review of literature highlights the fact that all works of history; oral or documented is more or less a build-up of that *corpus logus* of traditional history passed down in evolutionary manner.

4.3. The re-view and application of the sources in oral indigenous literature.

Epeli Hau'ofa's statement about how islanders were treated by missionaries' states;

In Oceania, derogatory and belittling views of indigenous cultures are traceable to the early years of interactions with Europeans. The wholesale condemnation by Christian missionaries of Oceanic cultures as savage,

²⁸⁹ Campbell, *Classical Tongan Kingship*. (1989), appendices 1-4 in pp31-42.

²⁹⁰ Mahina, "The Tongan Traditional History *Tala-E-Fonua*: A Vernacular Ecology-Centred Historico-Cultural Concept." (1992).

²⁹¹ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember." (2000), 457.

²⁹² Ibid. 458.

lascivious, and barbaric has had a lasting and negative effect on people's views of their histories and traditions.²⁹³

Let see this discussion of Tongan indigenous knowledge; The *Tala - 'otua* – pantheon of gods where *Tu* – gods *ʻi* – in Tonga- as incarnation of Tangaloa 'Eitumatubu'a.²⁹⁴ Tu'i Tonga were received as both temporal and spiritual beings. In Latukefu's term Tu 'i Tonga as "*tangata 'ilo*" (men of wisdom),²⁹⁵ had power to teach others and inform one's immediate siblings and descendants about life. For antagonist view this aspect of Tongan culture Hau'ofa states;

In Tonga, the term for commoners is *me'a vale* 'the ignorant ones', which is a survival from an era when the aristocracy controlled all important knowledge in the society. Keeping the ordinary folk in the dark and calling them ignorant made it easier to control and subordinate them²⁹⁶

But from a protagonist viewpoint, *Me'a vale* is a way of humbling oneself in the context of serving the *Tu'i* as the sovereign figure and the knowledgeable person of the nation. From the viewpoint of the *Kainangaefonua* - commoner's themselves, it is a way of humbly denying oneself in the face of the person with power and knowledge. It connotes the duty of serving, rather than pessimistically allocating people in the "dark" as Hau'ofa claims. It is a foreign view and out of context. Reviewing Hau'ofa's statement above in light of society with monarch, the British former renowned Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher states on "Postscript" of her book *Statecraft*;

Whether, as in the United States it is 'We the People' who are formally sovereign, or as in Britain that 'We' is royal, the task of politician, and thus, still more so the statesman, is, first and last, to serve.²⁹⁷

²⁹³ "Our Sea of Islands." (1993), 149.

²⁹⁴ This interpretation of the title Tu-'i-Tonga to mean "god in Tonga" was by Makalangahiva of Lapaha, is based on the word "Tu" in Polynesian language generally means gods, Fifita Sili Makalangahiva, 2010.

²⁹⁵ Sione Latukefu, "The Making of the First Tongan-Born Professional Historian," *Journal of Pacific History* (1995).

²⁹⁶ Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands."

²⁹⁷ Margaret Thatcher, *'I wanted to write one book - and I wanted it to be about the future. In this age of spin doctors and sound bites the ever-present danger is that leaders will follow fashion and not their instincts and beliefs. That was not how the West won the Gold War, nor how we created the basics for today's freedom and prosperity. If we wish to make our achievements secure for our children, the West must stay vigilant and strong. In this book it will be my purpose to show how that can - and must - be done.'* (Margaret Thatcher). *Statecraft: Strategies for a Changing World* (London HarperCollinsPublishers, 2002). 467.

View the above *Me'a vale* as class of people of Tongan monarchical society, I as a Tongan speaking from within; it is my humble duty of honouring the sovereign as the *Tangata Tlo* – Source of wisdom. I call myself as “an ignorant thing” only in light of denying myself as my loyalty to serve.

Ve'ehala noted that *Tangaloa 'Eitumatubu'a* cohabited with an earthy woman named *Ilabea Va'epopua*, daughter of *Seketoa* from *Ninatoputapu*. Their son *'Aho'eitu* was the first Tu'i of Tonga who was received as the incarnated *Tangaloa 'Eitumatubu'a* in 950 AD.²⁹⁸ The first *Tu'i Tonga 'Aho'eitu* was the first *'eiki TopuTapu* who lived on the Fonua-land thus called it Tongatapu.²⁹⁹ Of the same, the culture of living, interactions and blood inter-connections in community were based upon seven (7) Tapu rituals. In light of “to serve” all rituals were based on the brother-sister relationships – the brothers serve the sisters in all social obligations. *Tu'i Tonga* sister was *Tu'i Tonga Fefine* – Female Tu'i of Tonga and whose children became the *Tamaha* – sacred children.³⁰⁰ *Tamaha* children hold highest Tapu to be observed by all members of the society including the Tu'i Tonga himself. This indicate that women were higher in status than men in Tongan hierarchical culture. H.M. Queen Salote listed the 7 Tapu include; *Tamaha* (Tu'i's sister's children), *Tu'i* (person of the Tu'i), *Tamai* (father), *Mehikitanga* (aunty), *Tuofefine* (sister), *Kau Taula* (priests) and *Sino 'o e Pekia* (dead corpse), respectively.³⁰¹

Records of ***Tala-'A-Kainga***³⁰² - Genealogy enlisted the genetical inter-relationships of *kainga* in the whole regenerations processes over time. It must be stated, that all members of *kainga* is related through paternal or maternal connection to either one of the four partite *Ha'a Tu'i 'of Tonga*. As such the whole build-up of *kainga* through blood connections in the process of the evolutionary way continues over time. It was the role of the head of lineage to know through blood connections

²⁹⁸ Ve'ehala and Tupou Posesi Fanua, "Oral Tradition and Prehistory," in *Friendly Islands: A History of Tonga*, ed. Noel Rutherford (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1977). 27.

²⁹⁹ Sione Latukefu, *Church and State in Tonga: The Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries and Political Development, 1822-1875* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974). 2.

³⁰⁰ David V Burley, "Sacred Child and Sacred Place: On the Intersection of Myth, Narrative, Genealogy and Landscape for the Study of Dynastic Tongan History," in *Polynesian Paradox: Essays in Honour of Professor 'I. Futa Helu*, ed. I C Campbell and Eve Coxon (University of the South Pacific: Institute of Pacific Studies, 2005).

³⁰¹ Salote, "Ko E Tohi 'a 'Ene 'Afio, 1958-59, (the Writings of Queen Salote)." Cited in Latu, *Latu, Fakaongo and Tau'ataina* (2015), 66-7.

³⁰² See the sources from which genealogies were recorded from in Ve'ehala's statement about the Catholic genealogy as different from Baker's genealogy in Ve'ehala and Fanua, "Oral Tradition and Prehistory." 29.

the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga, as memorised by authorities. About the significance of genealogies Australian scholar Elizabeth Wood-Ellem noted;

The key to understanding of hierarchy, as Salote said, was a knowledge of genealogies. People of European descent (*Papalangi*) are unaccustomed to learning genealogies, which for them consist of difficult names. But the Tongan chiefs learn them for the same reason as *papalangi* count their money: birth determines their status in the world. Just as *papalangi* inheritances of property will fluctuate from generation to generations, so marriage, births, and deaths affect the current genealogical status of chiefs.³⁰³

The validity of *Tala-'a-Kainga* as a source of history is also viewed from a foreign power politic perspective, is noted by the historian Phyllis S. Herda in her "Genealogy in the Tongan Construction of the Past" where she asserted;

...demonstrated ascribed and achieved statuses and were often called upon to legitimise political rule; as such, the corpus of genealogies reflects most, if not all, political ascendancies and contentions. Their very nature as political and social idiom makes them a powerful historical source.³⁰⁴

Whether genealogy was used to legitimise political status or otherwise, its existence as a source is valued here. Some Court cases have been acquitted in Tonga by the judge, because the verdict was justified by various evidences, including a family genealogy that was recorded by a missionary in the nineteenth century.³⁰⁵

With regards to Ha'a Tu'i Tonga genealogy as *Tala 'a Kainga* - Source of history, this work accepts the Catholic genealogy which is believed to be the one taken by Laufilitonga and Kauhala'uta. It is also believed the same or closely related to it was recorded by the first Palangi George Vason, from Tamaha 'Amelia the list of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga. Vason was known to have lived in Tonga long enough and under the protection of the last Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua Mulikiha'amea who was killed during the civil war of 1799. Vason's list is from a Tu'i himself, a reliable source. Vason was a LMS lapsed missionary and his first unauthorised version of Tongan history was published in London in

³⁰³ Wood-Ellem, *Queen Salote of Tonga: The Story of an Era, 1900-1965*. 3.

³⁰⁴ P Herda, "Genealogy in Tongan Construction of the Past," in *Tongan Culture and History: Papers from the 1st Tongan History Conference Held in Canberra 14-17 January, 1987*, ed. P Herda, J Terrell, and N Gunson(Canberra: The Journal of Pacific History, 1996). 21.

³⁰⁵ I have no right to publicise any court case whatsoever, but in my own judgement regarding the uses of oral and documented sources I believe, a genealogy from this documented genealogy source was consulted; Moulton, "Notes on Tongan History and Tongan Legends."

1810.³⁰⁶ Until his death in 1838, his official publication, as the first literature for Tonga (except the primary sources produced by explorer, navigators, traders and beachcombers) in foreign country was made in 1840. Willaim Mariner's account as another document of a *Tala-Tukufakabolo* was followed by Dr. Martin in 1850.³⁰⁷

The facts of history, Tapu culture, and the wealth of indigenous knowledge foreign scholars have shared in their literatures today are re-telling of the, *tala*-passed on their wisdoms to their children to pass on to the later generations to *fakabolo*-treasure and re-created for a social purpose in Tongan Tu'i Culture and Tapu social system. Passing on those wisdom with great reverence to the ancestral community of the past made the demotic history to be very influential in the way it is in itself the driving force for Tonga history and historiography. A *Tala* from Father to sons, was conveyed in the way of *uhu'i* – recite³⁰⁸ to permeate³⁰⁹ the hearts, minds, and souls of the son is the Tongan generations enhancement. The term *Uhu'i* means to give the instruction as you “inflict pain upon the flesh of the person.” These are treasures to value for the next centuries to come as they engaged with it in the kainga – communal interactions and inter-connections. Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith asserted for Pacific community that; “communities are interacted and inter-connected.”³¹⁰ Interactions and inter-connections in Tongan community involves pressing on the instructions as one is inflicting pains upon another or the generation aiming for the better.

³⁰⁶ David G May, ed. *Narrative of the Late George Vason of Nottingham* (Nuku'alofa Friendly Island Bookshop and Taulua Press 1998).

³⁰⁷ John Martin M.D., *Tonga Islands William Mariner's Account: An Account of the Native's of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean. With an Original Grammar and Vocabularly of Their Language. Compiled and Arranged from the Extensive Communications of Mr William Mariner, Several Years Resident in Those Islands.* , vol. Fourth Edition Volume I & II(Tonga Vava'u Press 1981), A detailed account of an important time in Tonga history when the power of the divine representative of the gods, the Tu'i Tonga, was declining and the Pacific kingdom was in a turmoil of civil war. A survivor of the 1806 Port au Prince massacre at Ha'apai, William Mariner-Toki Ukamea, became the adopted son of the warrior king Finau 'Ulukalala II. His astute observations are a valuable source of history, and his story a classic adventure of the South Sea.

³⁰⁸ The term recite does not capture the meaning of the Tongan term *Uhu'i* – which means “inflicting pain upon the flesh of the person.”

³⁰⁹ The term *Uhu'i* is translated from the biblical term used in Deuteronomy 6:7 New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) “7. Recite them to your children and talk about them when you are at home and when you are away, when you lie down and when you rise.” Deut. 6.7. (NRSV.).

³¹⁰ Taken from Linda Tuhiwai Smith Speech on “Decolonizing Methodologies.” at the The Graduate Center, CUNY., New York. From You Tube. Published 29 April, 2013.

4.4. Alternative perspectives on Pacific Education, and history.

The move for alternative was begun by the University of the South Pacific (USP) scholars with interests in Pacific education, history and culture. The first move was a “colloquium entitled Re-Thinking Pacific Education” held in the University of the South Pacific (USP) April 26-29, 2001.³¹¹ This colloquium of joint venture was made between the Victoria University (VU) of Wellington and USP under the umbrella of Memorandum of Understanding between the two universities, funded by the New Zealand Overseas Development Agency (NZODA). The great literature provided from this colloquium highlighted the problem in Taufe’ulungaki’s statement states that “reforms in education and the larger society that have been instituted in the last thirty years or so have not succeeded in creating the kinds of societies Pacific peoples wish for themselves and their children.”³¹² For this problem, the Pacific scholars worked to explore “alternatives.” The anthology of papers presented in the colloquium was more along alternative, aimed to revive the wealth of knowledge in alter-native ways from the Pacific sustainable societies they have lived in for thousands of years.

The colloquium was followed by another conference at Sia’atoutai Theological College, Tonga sponsored by the PRIDE whose aims were;

The development of new ways of planning that draw on **the ways of thinking and knowing of the Pacific** is a big challenge. The old colonial ways of developing and managing education systems have had a pervasive impact in the Pacific, and are deeply resistant to change. **Colonial assumptions about the nature of the Pacific and the needs of its people need to be much more carefully and critically questioned.**³¹³

Educationists of the University of the South Pacific reconsidered their educational planning and strategies to incorporate the values outlined in the quotation above. These epistemological questions are the hearts of alternative, “the ways of thinking” and “the ways of knowing.” The whole publication of the PRIDE project contains another varieties of literatures that provided very rich resources of literature for alter-native.

³¹¹ An anthology of papers from this conference is published in Benson, *Tree of Opportunity: Rethinking Pacific Education*.

³¹² Taufe'ulungaki, "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?." (2002), 5.

³¹³ Priscilla Puamau and G.R.(Bob) Teasdale, (ed.) *Educational Planning in the Pacific: Principles and Guidelines*, (Suva: The University of the South Pacific, 2005), xii.

Together with scholars from New Zealand, Australia, and other Pacific countries, 'Epeli Hau'ofa, Konai Helu Thaman and Anamaui Taufe'ulungaki are leading scholars who have, not only prepared the way for alternatives, but reconnected communities of academics from Hawaii for the whole alternative venture. This work hails Taufe'ulungaki who introduced the alternative to Ministry of Education Tonga in the years when she was Minister of Education 2011-2015.

The Hawaiian scholar Robert Borofsky who edited the *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake Histories* invited both Pacific and non-Pacific scholars to address a Remake of Pacific Past through various perspectives. The frame of his references varied from "Making Histories", to "Possessing others", and from "Colonial Enlightenment" to "Post-Colonials Politics", to "Integrating the Past into the present". Tongan scholar Epeli Hau'ofa on his "Epilogue" concluded the whole literature with an alarm of the fact that our Pacific "histories are narrative told at the footnote of the empires."³¹⁴ He also warned the Pacific scholars and people of the "domination of the scholarly reconstruction of our pasts by the Canberra school of Pacific historians"³¹⁵ and that "fundamental to the division of our past into two main periods; the pre-contacts and post contact period. The determining factor for this is the presence of the Europeans with their traditions of writing and recording."³¹⁶ This division by the Canberra historians ruled out Pacific past as "not-history or pre-history". It is a way of "marginalizing" the Pacific orality and Hau'ofa for that matter commented; "When you view most of people's past as not-history you shorten very drastically the roots of their culture or declare their existence doubtful."³¹⁷ For the conclusion of his view about reconstruction of Pacific Past that "the prevailing Pacific historiography is hegemonic. It admits no other than the mainline historiography with only minor concessions."³¹⁸ He also stated to clear the stage of the European ghosts and bring in new characters of the Pacific. And to associate our orality with "sea-routes" and "sea-scapes" provide "landmarks" where our "memories" bring forth "our histories" on the time frame of walking backward to the future. "Remove all those factors then our past is erased," says Hau'ofa.

³¹⁴ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember." (2000) 456.

³¹⁵ Ibid. 455.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid. 456.

³¹⁸ Ibid. 457.

In his conclusion Hau'ofa closes the scene of the invitation to Remake Pacific Pasts with a reference to his view of his own Past in my view; the *Tala-Tukufakaholo* way. Hau'ofa stated;

I shall conclude with the following reflection on past, present and future. Wherever I am at any given moment, there is comfort in the knowledge stored at the back of my mind, that somewhere in Oceania is a piece of earth to which I belong. In the turbulence of life, it is my anchor. No one can take it away from me. I may never return to it, never in my mortal remains, but it will always be homeland. We all have or should have homelands; family, community, national homelands. And to deny human beings the sense of homelands to deny them a deep spot on earth to anchor their roots. Most east Oceanians have Havaiki, a shared ancestral homeland that exist hazily at primordial memory.³¹⁹

As human, we have history says Edward Said, and that history differentiates us from the animals who do not record ancestral roots. Our oral roots have kept us on track as our ancestors walked the past, and passed on to us the wisdom of life, as we sojourned through this dark valley of “harsh terrain and inhospitable environments”³²⁰ meeting contingents and conventions towards the unknown future, to our eternal homeland. Our walking towards the future will be guided by our oral past – the spot of earth where the voices of our ancestors had been embedded – *Tala-Tukufakaholo* - our home land. The significance of that earthly spot in the past is the point of reference. There enclosed the voices of our forefathers who have guided us along the way, thus far. Those voices have for so many years along the way linked us back to our Pacific anchor. It has motivated our lives to become who we are now. Hau'ofa called it an earthly spot, I call it the *Matafuefue* - grassroots spot³²¹ upon where life was conceived and bred of Tangaloa stock which dictated one's fate in life.

4.5. The Literatures by Tonga History Association scholars on Tonga history:

Tonga History Association (THA) began by interested historians in Canberra, ANU in 1987. Whether their interests on Tonga history were genuine, their works have counted towards the build-up of the whole literature for Tonga History and Historiography. In fact, the first publication

³¹⁹ Ibid. 470.

³²⁰ Taufe'ulungaki, "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?." (2002), 5.

³²¹ Borrowed from Tu'i'Afitu., Talanoa, Makave, Vava'u. 2008.

of the Conference proceedings is titled; *Tongan Culture and History*.³²² Sione Latukefu the President of the THA on his “Foreword” outlines the history of the Association and their vision as to

The small seed with uncertain future which was placed on the ground at the ANU.... has now grown into a young tree...it is to be hoped that...micro histories will lead eventually to a situation where a sound general and up to date history of Tonga can be produced, based on thorough and scholarly research.³²³

I do not understand what Latukefu referred to in these terms; “thorough and scholarly” because they mean “full” and “learnt” respectively. Niel Gunson’s paper argued strong against leaving the Pacific people to write their own history independent of the western scholars.

However, the THA Conference continued as a yearly event and successfully, papers were published on the views of historians about what they see as history of Tonga. Some years later the THA changed its name to become the Tonga Research Association (TRA). For the change of name to the Tonga Research Association, Campbell concluded;

THA continued to meet biennially, but the content of its papers became less and less historical...Meanwhile the Society did not develop deep roots in Tonga, but remained expatriate in its active leadership and executive. The hopes that it might stimulate research in Tonga by Tongans and raise Tongan awareness of history and its significance has not generally been realized. Occasional school essay competitions have done nothing to retrieve historical data.³²⁴

The second publication titled *Tonga and Tongans: Heritage and Identity*, contained papers presented the conference held in Melbourne in 2005, published in 2007. The third publication titled; *Tonga – Land, Sea and People*³²⁵ contained papers from 1992, 1993, and 2007 conference in Tonga and other places. Campbell reflected on the contribution of these conferences to Tonga history stated;

³²² P Herda, J Terrell, and N Gunson, *Tongan Culture and History: Papers from the 1st Tongan History Conference Held in Canberra 14-17 January, 1987*(Canberra: The Journal of Pacific History, 1996).

³²³ Sione Latukefu, "Foreword " in *Tongan Culture and History: Papers from the 1st Tongan History Conference Held in Canberra, 14-17 January, 1987* ed. Phyllis Herda, Jennifer Terrell, and Niel Gunson(Canberra The Journal of Pacific History Inc. in collaboration with Target Oceania and ANU Printing and Publishing Services 1996). V-vi.

³²⁴ Campbell, "A History Policy for Tonga." 38-9.

³²⁵ Tangikina Moimoi Steen and Nancy L Drescher, eds., *Tonga - Land, Sea and People*(Nuku'alofa: Vava'u Press Limited, 2011).

No other Pacific island state, with the exception of Papua New Guinea could point to such evidence of active research and dialogue about [Tonga and] its own history.

(I.C. Campbell, 2011)

However; in general, the literature as a whole proves Ian Campbell's assertion that the field had been dominated by foreigners. From his point of view, the situation is colonial and in his own words;

The reality was and remains that although the 'Tongans are so historically aware and culturally proud people, a quick glance at Tongan historiography shows a state of intellectual dependence that might also be called colonial;....³²⁶

This statement by Campbell should be a wakeup call for all Tongans to response to such colonial situation. After sixteen years of Campbell's suggestion "A History Policy for Tonga," the Government of Tonga has not done anything nor its ministry of Education boost any incentives to influence students to study Tongan history.

From an alternative view point, these literatures are all a buildup of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* in oral and documentation in holistic term. The secondary literatures that Campbell asserted that foreigners have produced for Tonga history described as being colonial and the situation with Tonga and historiography can be concluded as "intellectual dependence" can be re-viewed.

Perhaps it is appropriate to produce an analysis of the contributors of all THA and TRA conferences in the light of Campbell's colonial assertion. The first 1987 THA Conference in its publication *Tongan Culture and History*,³²⁷ recorded 6 Tongan which is a 31.58% ratio of Tongan presenters and 13 non-Tongan presenters comprised 68.52% of total presenters. The second 1993 THA Conference in its publication *Tonga – Land, Sea and People*,³²⁸ recorded 9 Tongans, comprised 42.86% and 12 non-Tongan presenters which is 57.14% ratio of the total presenters. The third TRA 2007 Conference in its publication; *Tonga and the Tongans heritage and identity* recorded 9 Tongans which is 47.37% and 10 non-Tongan presenters which is a 52.63. % ratio of the total presenters. There were also other TRA Conferences but publications have not been able. All conferences received full supports of the Hou'eiki of Tonga. Truly, this analysis proves the claim by Ian Campbell that Tongan historiography is colonial.

³²⁶ Campbell, "A History Policy for Tonga." (2011), 30.

³²⁷ Herda, Terrell, and Gunson, *Tongan Culture and History: Papers from the 1st Tongan History Conference Held in Canberra 14-17 January, 1987*.

³²⁸ Steen and Drescher, *Tonga - Land, Sea and People*.

All of these secondary literatures are in my view, account to both question of “What as?” and “what is?” of Tonga history and historiography.

4.6. The Literature produced by Tonga Traditional Committee:

Another body of literature were collected from community at the initiative of Her Majesty The Queen Salote Tupou III³²⁹ summoned the head of government departments, chiefs and leaders of Tonga communities to institute the *Komiti Talafakafonua 'o Tonga* – Tonga Traditional Committee (TTC.) in 1950's.³³⁰ Their main agenda was to collect village oral information and documented cultural legacies from old people of the society. This was the 1950's and many of the old people of the time still held fond memories of traditions and legacies about the history of Tonga and of various places. The information was compiled in manuscript form and are valuable sources that are yet to be interpreted, organized and articulated to form an authentic history of Tonga.³³¹ The syllable section of the Ministry of Education has attempted to organize these collected materials along the same line and the Ministry of Education has published three series of volumes *Tala 'o Tonga* books for Teachers of History by Teachers in vernacular language.³³² This movement was, in my view, a boost towards alternative.

Along the same line of rewriting and reviving Tonga history and historiography, H.M. Queen Nanasipau'u and the History Committee of Hihifo³³³ entrusted me the role to do research and write the recently published book about the history of Wesleyan Missionary works in Hihifo, Tonga in 1826-1829. Research for the information needed for the writing of his book was done from the primary sources produced by 19th Tonga Methodist missionaries stored at Mitchel library, NSW State Library in Sydney, the Tongan primary archival material at the Pacific Manuscript Bureau, at ANU, Canberra, and the primary archival materials at Dr. Moulton archive, FWC head

³²⁹ Salote, "Ko E Tohi 'a 'Ene 'Afio, 1958-59, (the Writings of Queen Salote)."

³³⁰ Komiti Tala Fakafonua 'o Tonga, ed. *Tanaki Fakamatala 'O E Ngaahi Kolo 'O Tonga* (Nuku'alofa Komiti Tala Fakafonua 'o Tonga 1960).

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³³² Paula S Bloomfield, *Ko E Tala 'O Tonga: Ko E Tohi Ma'a E Kau Faiako*, vol. 2(Nuku'alofa: Potungaue Ako, 1990), Tonga history in vernacular language.; *Tala 'O Tonga: Tohi Ma'a E Faiako* 3vols., vol. 3 Tala 'O Tonga (Nuku'alofa Potungaue Ako 1991).

³³³ The Hihifo History Committee members were; H.M. Queen Nanasipau'u, Dr. 'Ahio President of the Methodist Church in Tonga, and Paula Onoafe Latu, the researcher and writer of the book. Research for

office Nuku'alofa. Research and writing was also made with close analysis of the facts of history from very significant sources of the American scholar E.W. Gifford and the Australian scholar E.E.V. Collocott. They were well-known anthropologist who documented the orality from informants and the Culture of Tonga. I used the grafting (verb) method – meaning the narrative produced is shown to be an intersection of myth, narratives, genealogies, landscapes, material culture, tales of the land, and the documented evidences. Evidences from orality, family stories, land and sea-scapes, and surviving land marks on land of Hihifo were intersected with narratives held by the people of the region. The story was grafted with evidences from documented sources to give a craft (noun) of Hihifo, Tonga history. The book was written in Tongan language and was formally launched to H.M. King Tupou VI on the re-dedication of the mission House “Cokevernal II” in Kolovai on 24th December, 2016.³³⁴ I was only able to publish 100 copies and it all dispersed to the people of the village and Hihifo in a minute. The quick dispersal of the books indicates the great demands from the people of Tonga to write their history in Tongan language for them to read.

For the first time, the history of the people of Tonga, was well researched, grafted from both orality, tales of the land, cultural landscapes and the living community together with evidences of the Missionaries journals and written from the perspective of the people in Tongan language. Diaries, Notes and memoirs of primary sources as well as evidences from secondary sources, well articulate to present the story of their own people, region, their domain, their culture and their lands and stories in the language they most treasure and understand. In reality their *Tala-Tukufakaholo* is revived and as one Minister of the Crown commented; “*Ko e tohi 'e hoko ko e ma'u'anga 'ilo ki be kakai mo e fanauako, kae'uma'a e to'utupu koe'ubi oku faingofua ke lau, fakataba mo 'enau fie 'ilo ki honau tupu'anga te nau vekeveke ke ma'u ha tohi*” – ‘the book will become a source of information to the people and the young generation. It is in Tongan and they will be able to read with ease.’³³⁵[trans. Author]. On another communication from Dr. Eke about the book, he stated that; “*Na'a ku 'alu ki be fakaafe katoanga fakafamili mei Nukunuku pea na'e kaunga labi e ngaahi lea 'o e 'aho ki be tohi mo e mahu'inga e ngaahi me'a ai fekau'aki mo Nukunuku.*” – ‘he was invited to a Community and Family occasion in the village of Nukunuku and the speeches of the occasion

³³⁴ H.M. Queen Nanasipau'u, 'Ahio, and Paula Onoafe Latu, *Ko E Ta'u 'E 190 'O E Fale Ko Cokevernal li 'I He 'Api Ko Ameloke, Kolovai, Tonga*. (Auckland: *Tala-Tukufakaholo* Publisher 2016).

³³⁵ Minister of Finance Hon. Dr. 'Aisake Eke, who is also the People's representative of the Hihifo district of Tongatapu. Dr. 'Aisake Eke, Talanoa, Vaotu'u, Tonga, 25 December, 2016.

reflected much on the content of the book related to their village. The need to write such history for Tonga by Tongans was also emphasized.³³⁶[trans. Author]

On another occasion in the village of Kolomotu'a, it was reported by a mother from the village Taufa Holani, who lives in Auckland stated; *"Na'e lea 'a e setuata labi 'o e vabefonua 'i he tobi 'o fakamahuinga'i hono koloa ki he fonua mo e fiema'u ke fa'u ha hisitolia pebe 'o Kolomotu'a."* – 'the head steward of the Methodist Church of Tonga Sione Tukia commented; this book is a treasured value for the history of Tonga and a history of Kolomotu'a should be written soon.³³⁷

I have quoted the above evidences because I believe, the people under study's comment about the stories wrote about them needs be heard from the community perspective. Most often, outsiders determined what history and not history for a people, mostly especially the island colonized people.

4.7. Theorizing the significance of Culture in Historiography.

Thaman defined "Culture" as "a way of life".³³⁸ Basically of thinking and actions according to one's beliefs, and aspiration. On qualifying that definition from her Education point of view states that "Culture," for her "is an all-embracing framework that helps define particular ways of being and behaving, different types of knowing and knowledge, as well as different ways these are stored, communicated and shared." Philosopher James K. Feibleman defines Culture as; (Latin, *cultura*, from Colo, *cultivate*), "The intrinsic value of the society. Syn[onymous]. with 'civilization.'³³⁹ Hence, if I may be allowed here, from my historiography point of view to state my own graft of Thaman's and Feibleman's definition for Tongan Culture it would be that;

Culture is the way of life where the intrinsic value of the society (civilization) is being differently cultivated – that is sowing the seeds of their knowledge, in the oral way that is well-informed by their being and knowledge, and in the way, they had been orally stored in ancestral community, successively communicated down thru generations and communally shared with other conventions at present.³⁴⁰

³³⁶ Dr. Eke by email, dated 24 January, 2017.

³³⁷ Taufa Holani, Talanoa, Auckland, January, 2017

³³⁸ Thaman, "Towards Cultural Democracy in Pacific Education: An Imperative for the 21st Century." (2002), 25.

³³⁹ James K. Feibleman, "Culture " in *Dictionary of Philosophy* ed. Dagobert D. Runes(New Jersey Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1964). 72.

³⁴⁰ I have used a similar definition of "Culture" and history in the context of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* historiography on my teaching of "Oral and History Theory" Class of the History Course CH3212. ORAL AND HISTORY at the

That is, in my view, the overarching oral framework with which Tongan society has managed its history growth for centuries and has kept the intrinsic values of society alive in the hearts of the people. This is what I may say as the *Loto'i Tonga* – the crown jewel that is hidden in the heart of a Tongan that I call history. I praise Thaman's definition for reminding us, that it is a "different way of life" which in Feibleman from Latin culture says, "cultivated", planted its seeds in orality. This term orality in Tongan means *Tala-Tukufakabolo* – it is the "all-embracing framework" that Thaman may have also referred to as "informative curriculum" that helps define "ways of being and behaving" of the Tongan people. The best of one generation's culture is being transmitted to the next, and the informative curriculum is built and built, to have stood the test of time over ten centuries now. It is here tendered expecting fruition in a more holistic term.

In this attempt to theorize a concept for Historiography in the Culture (civilization) of Tonga, we look for the seeds of wisdom and knowledge from previous generations' cultivation in historiography, the realities of people's life stories have been grafted onto the society's intrinsic values, in a way most pertinent to their beliefs. Thus, is the live aspect of Culture in historiography that had been carried on from past life of Tongan people, it's intrinsic values being enfolded over time in thoughts, actions and lived in real life situation. It is a civilization in itself of crafting the realities of life in oral form of history (Talanoa). It may well be said, that any historiography that emanates from civilization, means the intrinsic values of the whole civil society of the past being carried on to the present ensues its longevity as a life-long venture.

The Definition of a Theory:

Definition of the term "theory"³⁴¹ suggests that it is an idea which sets out principles to guide the practice of an activity with a projection of a future result and impact. This thesis work sees the significance of theorizing this *Tala-Tukufakabolo* concept as an overarching perspective in the construction of this research for an alternative method of historiography from Tongan indigenous

Sia'atoutai Theological College, Nafualu Tonga. See STC courses on Puloka, *Sia'atoutai Theological College: Handbook, 2006*

³⁴¹ What is a historical theory? "**Historical theory**" is a concept that is used in different ways. Often researchers will have a "**theory**" about **historical** events and connections – an orderly preconceived impression of the phenomenon to be studied. Used in this way, "**theory**" means the same thing as "hypothesis". Borrowed from Department of Archaeology, Conservation and History, University of Oslo. (UiO) website.

Source: <http://www.hf.uio.no/iakh/english/research/subjects/historiography/historical-theory-method/> (accessed 04.02.2017).

culture. It is a historical knowledge in itself. This is vitally important because the re-view of Tongan pasts through orality, rests on the form of the words and their associated representational images. Thus, it is vital that it is not a reconstruction of a history, but rather a re-view and research for a concept of history that can fundamentally encapsulate all the passed-on wisdom from the ancestral community of Tonga. Analyzing various oral data and literatures of the past; *Tala-Tukufakabolo* is the concept that emanates from the whole dramatic story of the Tongan people's past. It had existed as the overarching concept that embraced what had been portrayed on the whole drama of the past of Tonga. It is also all-embracing, in my view, con-joined a tripartite formation of a theory;

1. it is an idea in its form; an indigenous idea, which sets its own sets of overarching principles of history and historiography. Independent of any reality, it is history in itself (ontology) and a source of knowledge (epistemology) that can impact a life.
2. It's associated sets of principles can guide the activities of embodiments, manifestations, and recordings of the passed down realities from ancestral generations and calls to convey to the next along the line in time and space.
3. From its total meaning in cultural terms, it can project re-creation of the realities from a "form of thoughts"³⁴² to become a "way of life" for the next generation. Such is the activities *Tala-Tukufakabolo* sets for the future generations – re-create the *Tala* in its own rights and pass on to the next generations for further re-creations.³⁴³

Hence, as theory, it complies with its constituencies, and as a research topic *Tala-Tukufakabolo* is the overarching concept that embraced the wisdom passed down to us from the past. Such is the reason why I have chosen, in this study to deal first and foremost with study of indigenous sources because it is a study of an oral context and the research will focus on words and representational images. The concept also informs this research well and enrich historical knowledge.

Receiving such reality from indigenous sources and using it to impact a better way of living for the next generation in holistic terms is all that *Tala-Tukufakabolo* calls for in this thesis. Only in that way can a successful cultural approach be argued for an alter-native for Tonga history and historiography.

³⁴² The terms asserted by the 1950's British historian about the idea of history; Collingwood, *The Idea of History*.

³⁴³ Adapted from my own lecture notes on "History and Theory" class taught at Sia'atoutai Theological College, Tonga, 2003.

4.8. A successful cultural approach to Tonga History and Historiography.

For an alternative in education as “a choice of pathways”, Taufe’ulungaki asked the question and concluded; “the Western-derived developmental and educational paradigm [history and historiography included] adopted by most Pacific countries have failed to achieve their expected outcome.” She suggested “there is an urgent need to explore alternatives based on other value systems. For it is from values and beliefs systems that social and cultural groups construct their world, create meanings,...and transform those abstract world into concrete realities.”³⁴⁴ Niel Gunson in his conclusion argued that although “the high value placed on education in Tonga is attributed to the influence of James Egan Moulton, [and the missionaries] there was already a chiefly system which placed a high value on learning.”³⁴⁵ Truly, learning was inherited by the chiefly system in their *Tala-Tala-i-Fale* – chief’s monthly Fono in villages, and ‘ulumotu’a family *Tala-Tala-i-Fale* during family funerals and weddings. Such tradition was more regularly carried out when missionaries introduced the evening family prayers. All served as source of Tongan ethos teachings the kainga members in what principal of STC Tevita Tonga Mohenoa Puloka defined the *Fale o Kainga* – as the “socio-psychic force”³⁴⁶ of Tongan society, the house of the community. The chiefly ways of shepherding their own kinsmen to perform the *fatongia*-social obligations and behave morally in their own domains are forms of learning in itself. The rule of the indigenous Tapu system was in itself a high value of learning as well suggested by H.M. Queen Salote.³⁴⁷ Observations of *Feveitapai* – 7 Tapu’s relationships witness to this *Tala-Tala-i-Fale* – ethical means of moral instructions of the *Tala-Tukufakaholo* historiography. It facilitates “Ilo” – knowledge, and “Poto” – wisdom for the Fale ‘o kainga members.

As a policy for Tongan history, Campbell suggested; “that an office of National History should be established to attend to such work.”³⁴⁸ Whether it could work for one way or the other, Campbell’s contribution for the revival of Tongan history and historiography here is greatly recommended. He suggested for an official historian the following tasks:

1. Train local research historians and supervise their activities.

³⁴⁴ Taufe'ulungaki, "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?." (2002), 20.

³⁴⁵ Niel Gunson, "The Dynastic Evolution and Functional Role of the Tu'i Tonga as Master Shaman " in *Tonga - Land Sea, and People* ed. Tangikina Moimoi Steen and Nancy L. Drescher(Nuku'alofa Tonga Research Association 2011). 15.

³⁴⁶ Stated in the “Foreword” Puloka, *Sia'atoutai Theological College: Handbook, 2006* (2006), 7.

³⁴⁷ Salote, "Ko E Tohi 'a 'Ene 'Afio, 1958-59, (the Writings of Queen Salote)." (1958-59).

³⁴⁸ Campbell, "A History Policy for Tonga." (2011), 37.

2. Identify research priorities which might be undertaken by Tongans or foreign historians and particularly to identify those subjects of research which are urgent because of the threat to the survival of the sources. Oral and family histories are probably the most pressing areas.
3. Conduct in-service courses for teachers of history in schools.
4. Direct research into neglected aspects of Tongan history, especially village and locality history, unrecorded traditional history and recording of oral history of the recent past.
5. Collaborate with a Tongan government archivist in the collection, preservation and use of historical sources.
6. Collaborate with non-government institution to facilitate the preservation, proper storage and use of historical sources.
7. Encourage businesses and individuals to preserve the daily records of their activity as sources for future historians.
8. Develop expertise on the history of governments and policy in Tonga so as to be able to advise the government on the implications of new proposals and precedents.
9. Publish historical works at academic, educational and popular levels.³⁴⁹

The route for Tonga history and historiography is set for an alternative, hence the suggestion of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* as holistic framework for Tonga. The people of Tonga should listen, however, to the voice of the Fathers of history Campbell's and Gunson's and their *Tala-Tala-i-Fale* – their advises regarding reviving Tonga history, either in conventional or alternative, for they will be, in the end, complemented. They have travelled the field with different torch light and have experienced the harsh terrain and most importantly, as always echoed in their writings - that Tonga neglects this very important aspect of its society- its history. The suggestion by Campbell listed above is worthwhile for all interested historians and individuals of Tongan society. It calls us to look with passion and willingness to approach historical tasks for the benefit of the whole.

In addition to the above, I believe a successful cultural and theoretical approach is one that can be lived and practiced in real life situation. It should also be able to liberate people from bondage to others in cultural, historic terms. It will lead the next generations away from the problems, and find their way towards holism in this ever-divided war-torn terrorized world.

Conclusion.

Tonga should acknowledge the great works produced outside historians on Tongan history and historiography. This is evident in the three publications of the many conferences of the THA and TRA since 1987. The initiative by H.M. Queen Salote and the leaders of Tonga to institute the

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

Komiti Tala-Fakafonua 'o Tonga, which the Ministry of Education published three volumes of *Tala 'o Tonga* as documentations of research and interviews of informants of the 1950's. Let alone the great amount of secondary literatures produced mostly by interested scholars in their independent pursuits. All of those literatures indicate there is hidden wealth in the field that was worth the review. These claims had been supported positively by three outside historians; Maude,³⁵⁰ Crocombe³⁵¹ and Firth,³⁵² who for many years lived, worked and published works among and about the Pacific people.

In addition to that I agree there is a need to well inform the future generations of the situation and the need to move forward. As Sione Latukefu aspired on the first ever Tonga History Conference stated;

The small seed with uncertain future which was placed on the ground at the ANU.... has now grown into a young tree...it is to be hoped that...micro histories will lead eventually to a situation where a sound general and up to date history of Tonga can be produced, based on thorough and scholarly research.³⁵³

I aspire that we appreciatively work with open minds and hearts towards a positive way. We need to bypass the discussion of colonization and the claim of whose is what. We need to move on to a more holistic ground and encapsulate all realities, and accommodate all generations and interested scholars to the field. The whole woven mat of history and historiography belongs to the global human community. It is everyone's task to fulfil – to build up the global *Tala-Tukunfakabolo* that had been passed down to us from our ancestors of every nation, tribes, race and the global society at large.

I believe, that addressing the question of “what is?” and “what as?” of Tonga history and historiography in equal terms is the first step towards holism and doing justice to all.

³⁵⁰ Maude, *Of Islands and Men: Studies in Pacific History*.

³⁵¹ Crocombe, "Trends in Pacific Thoughts: The Last 50,000 Years and the Next 100."

³⁵² Firth, "Decolonization." 314-332.

³⁵³ Latukefu, "Foreword ". V-vi.

CHAPTER FIVE: an alter-native Methodology.

I believe that in order for us to gain greater autonomy than we have today and maintain it within the global system, we must in addition to other measures be able to define and construct our pasts and present in our own ways. We cannot continue to rely heavily on others to do it for us because autonomy cannot be attained through dependence.³⁵⁴

[Hau'ofa, "Epilogue", 2000].

5.1. *Tala-Tukufakaholo* and its cultural context:

Turning from one to another, from conventional to alternative, and dependence to autonomy as Hau'ofa suggested, we must locate the appropriate bay on the native's land of where to embark and the appropriate methodology to begin the new venture for alter-native. The embarkation point and the new venture should also contain the key elements, theory and vision con-joined therein for the argued alternative purpose of history and historiography and the future development in holistic terms related to the argument. Hence, we ask, what are the probabilities? I will touch briefly on other Pasifika indigenous frameworks and take particular attention and note of the most popular methodology the Kakala Framework developed by Konai Helu Thaman. Not only it is a Tongan design from the culture and history of Tonga but the cultural values and the core components suggested by the Kakala framework can be related to *Tala-Tukufakaholo* in historiographic terms. I hope in the end a Graft of methodology can be evidently derived from relating Kakala Framework and *Tala-Tukufakaholo* methodology for historiography. I will also check possible concepts, metaphors and symbols in the literatures that discusses Tongan history well and the credentials of a proper Tongan historiography. The concepts will also be studied in the historical, cultural, political and spiritual contexts to suggest as alter-native.

I acknowledge the *Tivaevae* as indigenous research methodology suggested by Aue Te Ava as pedagogy for the Cook Islands Secondary school teachings and learnings,³⁵⁵ Kaupapa Maori theorizing New Zealand framework suggested by Jo Mane,³⁵⁶ the *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research*

³⁵⁴ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember." 454.

³⁵⁵ Aue Te Ava, "*Mou Piriia Te Korero 'a to 'Ui Tupuna, Akaoraoraia*: Culturally Responsive Pedagogy for Cook Island Secondary Schools Physical Education. " (University of Auckland 2011).

³⁵⁶ Jo Mane, "Kaupapa Maori: A Community Approach " *MAI Review* 3, no. 1 (2009).

and *Indigenous Peoples* by Linda Tuhiwai Smith,³⁵⁷ the 'Tauhi Va model by Tevita O Ka'ili for Tongan society,³⁵⁸ and the Vanua Research framework for Fiji research by Nabobo and Baba.³⁵⁹ I also acknowledge the work on "Talanoa mei he Kailoa: An evolving Tongan cultural process" by Alaimalulua Toetu'u Tamiwhere for Tongan education and research. I place particular emphasis on Kakala Methodology (KRF) by Konai Helu Thaman as it relates to Tongan historiography.

i. The Kakala Methodology:

For Tongan Education, the *Kakala* Research Framework (KRF) had been designed and articulated well into Pacific education by Konaiholeva Helu Thaman. The focus of *Kakala* methodology is on "learning that is culturally inclusive for Pacific teachers and students". *Kakala* metaphor is sourced from the Tongan valued context of thinking. Timote Vaoleti stated; "The making of *kakala* (*tui kakala*) involves three different processes: *toli*, *tui* and *luva*."³⁶⁰ It is a real Tongan framework that encapsulates well how information are being *toli*-collected, *tui*-articulated and ready to be *luva*-presented for an academic purpose. Having grown up to youth age at Mu'a, the *Kolokalakala* – the old capital of Tonga, and the village of fragrant trees with sweet smelling flowers; I witnessed how these three processes were carried out by the *Fine Langa Toli 'o Loto Mu'a* – Ladies of the Mu'a who are experienced pickers of flowers for a particular social function, make and prepare a garland for an occasion. Cheriechu (Cherie Chu) of the Akoaootea website commented; "The framework provides an alternative way to totalizing framework of Western scientific and reductionist thinking that continue to dominate our work in higher education institutions." (Thaman, 2003) p.10).³⁶¹ Though, other Tongan scholars have added to its appropriateness and applicability for Pacific educational research, I am fascinated of how the three main stages of *Toli*, *Tui* and *Luva* from indigenous context of the women's *Tui Kakala* can be appropriately applied to Tongan historiography.

³⁵⁷ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. (1999).

³⁵⁸ T.O. Ka'ili, "Tauhi Va: Nurturing Tongan Socio-Spatial Ties in Maui and Beyond " *Contemporary Pacific* 17, no. 1 (2005).

³⁵⁹ U Nabobo-Baba, "Decolonising Framings in Pacific Research: Indigenous Fijian Vanua Research Framework as an Organic Response " *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Scholarship* 4, no. 2 (2011).

³⁶⁰ Timote M. Vaoleti, "Talanoa Research Methodology: A Developing Position on Pacific Research " *Waikato Journal of Education* 12 no. 2006 (2006). 27-8.

³⁶¹ Cited in Cherie Chu "Research Design for the project – Kakala Metaphor" the framework developed by Professor Konai Helu Thaman. Source: <https://akoaootea.ac.nz/project/pasifika-learners-and-success-tertiary-education/blogs/kakala-framework-prof-konai-thaman> (accessed 27.02.2017).

In the same way how Tongan women *Toli* selectively collected proper flowers for the *Tui – kakala* garland, so as the history researchers selectively picked certain facts from the vast richness of the ocean of “facts of the past” to become as in E.H. Carrs terms “facts of history.”³⁶² The selected “facts of history” (flowers) are in turn *Tui-* articulated onto the strand – the line of argument to produce the perfected *Kakala* – garland -the story to be *Lawa* - presented for the social occasion it is prepared for.

For my purpose, I acknowledge how such a cultural metaphor fits in appropriately with the synthesis of the tangible and intangible realities of the culture used as in Vaioleti’s words, “for a synthesis of information, stories, emotions....”³⁶³ Further the fragrance and the perfume that the *Kakala* offers to the occasion, can be likened to the articulated story that is presented in *Tala-Tukufakabolo*. The melody of a performed *Ta’anga* or a *Faiva Lakalaka* and its associated actions, tunes, music, and all permeates the hearts of the people, so as the fragrance sweet smells fill the people’s breaths and life with new fresh perfumes. The story a narrative offers as a representation of the past, may be equivalent as to how a melody, of a *Ta’anga* is being sung and it resembled and re-presented the wisdoms, pains, and the sweet memories of the past. The fragrance and perfume of the past is carried on to the present through traditions, culture, and ways of historiography. Sometimes, pragmatically, singing is seen as a way of writing of a story upon the hearts of people

Tala-Tukufakabolo was purely an indigenous Tongan concept which encapsulates the past and all its valuable wisdom in itself, source of knowledge and way of learning in Tongan indigenous society. In the light of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* I re-interpret *Fanongonongo Tokoto* in the context of interactions and blood inter-connections of the Kainga as a method of regeneration. The term in my own judgement can mean two different realities. It can mean the passing on of *Tala-words* from one person to another, kainga to kainga, or generation to generation. By way of verbal *Fanongonongo Tokoto* it is the actual passing on of the wisdom, words, information and stories in a humble way as one is leaning towards the next. It connotes connectivity, inter-relationships and inter-dependence for the welfare of the community and promotion of life philosophy and wisdom from the past kainga community.

It can also mean on a deeper level of interpretation of human *Tukufakabolo re-generations* – a passing on of genes from one to another in *Tokoto* - prostrate way from one person to another while lying

³⁶² Carr, *What Is History?: The George Macaulay Trevelyan Lecture Delivered in the University of Cambridge, January - March 1961*.

³⁶³ Vaioleti, "Talanoa Research Methodology: A Developing Position on Pacific Research ". 21. Seen also the same article in: <http://whanauora-research.co.nz/files/formidable/Vaioleti-Talanoa.pdf> (accessed 27.02.2017).

down. The central root of the concept in noun form is *ongo* – sound, feelings, emotions and consensual. The verbal form is *Fanongo*- listen, accommodating, and receptive. The participants of *Fanongonongo Tokoto* must be very attentive to the *ongo* by way of *fanongo* in receptive, obliging and cooperative as the process of passing on the information and the life quality in a consensual way. The process had been continuous and engaged all that it is directed to. *Fanongonongo Tokoto* in whole literally means passing on the sound in a receptive humble way by leaning on to the next person, community, generation, race, or era. This concept is the essential practice of the *Tala-Tukungutu* - Orality.

Fanongonongo Tokoto depicts a humble way of passing on of life rudiments and seeds from one person to the next while lying down. In other words, it is the way of regeneration and procreation of another generation from a couple's womb at cohabitation. The actual practice is a *Fanongonongo Tokoto* in itself, occurs when a seed of life is being passed onto the next person and consensually conceived through the acts of lying down in *nonofo* - cohabitation. The consensual experiences of the cohabitants, interacts and shares the life values and qualities is a way of inter-connecting persons, community to form the blood relationship of *kainga*. That blood lineal inter-connections are realized in the genetic duplication to the next generation. Cohabitation practices nurse the life qualities and pass them on as their gift of life presented to the next generation and so forth and is a way of life in *Tala-Tukufakabolo* traditional culture.

Fanongonongo Tokoto had always been transliterated but never to its depth in a cultural Oral context. The first cohabitation, for example, where *Fanongonongo Tokoto* in my view of the oral history was the first ever practice to be known as such was the humble reception had the first known lady of Tonga 'Ilaheva, the daughter of Seketoa³⁶⁴ accommodated the sky-god Tangaloa 'Eitumatubu'a at the first Ha'amonga at Popua.³⁶⁵ The fruit of that *Fanongonongo Tokoto* - cohabitation was the baby 'Aho'eitu – which as according to Salesi Tu'a'ofa'eiki Havea definition says; “Kuo 'ahoia 'i Maama 'a 'Eitu – meaning the 'Eitu god (Tangaloa 'Eitumatubu'a) is being incarnated on the land of Tonga.”³⁶⁶ Compare this definition with Collocott assertion about 'Aho'eitu stated earlier as “Tu'i mo 'otua.”³⁶⁷

³⁶⁴ Ve'ehala and Fanua, "Oral Tradition and Prehistory." (1977 27.

³⁶⁵ Story of this cohabitation is recorded by Moulton, "Notes on Tongan History and Tongan Legends."

³⁶⁶ Dr. Salesi Tu'a'ofa'eiki Havea, Talanoa, Sia'atoutai Theological College, Tonga, 1989.

³⁶⁷ Collocott, *Ko E Ta'u 'E Teau: Ko E Fai Ma'a E Kau Helohelo* (1926), 5.

Re-viewing this story in the light of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* framework, the story of the Tu'i Tonga 'Aho'eitu as incarnation of 'Eitu god and his successors, was the original Tongan *Tala-'o-Ha'a-'otua-mu'a*³⁶⁸ – stories about the original gods of Tonga. In modern language term, this story of 'Aho'eitu and his parent is known as *Tala-'otua* - theology. From this *Tala'otua* emanated the other derivatives of *Tala-Tupu'a*(cosmology); *Tala-e-Fonua*(ethnology); *Tala-'a-Kainga*(ethnography); and *Tala-tala-i-Fale* (Tongan ethos teaching) as sources of history and knowledge in previous chapter. These concepts are all under the umbrella of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* concept as sources of history and historiography. I will survey the literatures where *Tala-Tukufakaholo* and other related concepts used in Tongan indigenous community for the purpose of passing on *Tala* – the ancestral wisdoms.

5.2. The concept Tala-Tukufakaholo in Literatures:

The first appearance of the term *Tala-Tukufakaholo* in literature is its 19th century usage in Wesleyan missionary's Stephen Rabone's *Vocabulary of Tongan Language arranged in Alphabetical order to which is annexed A List of Idiomatic Phrases*, (1845). The term *Tala* is defined separately from *Tukufakaholo*. *Tala* is defined in its verbal form as; “to tell, to reply, to speak of.”³⁶⁹ *Tukufakaholo* is defined in its verbal form as “to possess or inherit in succession.”³⁷⁰ In the topic of this thesis I use the hyphenated term of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* as combination of the two concepts to mean the “traditional wisdom lived, practiced, and used was told and passed down by the ancestral community in a successive way was to possess and inherited,” by Tongan people. It saw the concept as a verbal reality (being) in itself and the method of knowledge (epistemology) to be possessed, inherited and passed down in successive manner. By doing so, it enhanced knowledge.

The second usage of the term appears in hymnal translations by another Wesleyan missionary Dr. James Egan Moulton who worked in Tonga, 1865-1909. He translated the Wesleyan hymns from the Methodist Hymn Book (THB) No. 817/1933, titled; “Fling out the banner! Let it float” composed by George Washington Doane, 1799-1859. It is published with the Meter: L.M. and the Topic is “The Church: Militant and Triumphant, published 1933. With the tune “Pentecost”

³⁶⁸ Term used by Masiu Moala in his Moala, *'Efinanga: Ko E Ngaahi Tala Mo E Anga Fakafonua 'O Tonga*

³⁶⁹ The Rev. Stephen Rabone, "Tala," in *A Vocabulary of the Tonga Language, arranged in Alphabetical order to which is annexed a list of Idiomatical Phrase*, ed. The Rev. Stephen Rabone(Neiafu: The Wesleyan Mission Press, 1845). 189.

³⁷⁰ "Tukufakaholo," in *A Vocabulary of the Tonga Language, arranged in Alphabetical order to which is annexed a list of Idiomatical Phrase*, ed. The Rev. Stephen Rabone(Neiafu: The Wesleyan Mission Press, 1845). 209.

it was composed by W. Boyd, 1847-1928.³⁷¹ This hymn is believed to be translated by J.E. Moulton to Tongan language, towards the end of the 19th century or in the beginning of the twentieth century. The translation used the term *Tala-tukufakaholo* in Tongan translation reads;

“TALATUKUFAKAHOLO ‘oku ha he Folofola, kamata’anga ‘o e poto
‘apasia ki he ‘Otua.” [THB. 659.]

“Traditional history narrates in the Bible, fear of God is the beginning of knowledge.” (trans. Author)

The usage of the term in this hymnal translation refers to the Bible story as a *Talatukufakaholo* (unhyphenated) in itself and its main moral message is that the “Fear of God is the beginning of knowledge.” On reading the six verses of the translated hymn only the first verse of the translated hymn the is term *Talatukufakaholo* used. All other verses of 2-6 used the translated term for “Fear of God” which is “*Apasia*” is the “beginning of knowledge.” Again, the concept is referred to in his translation to a body of wisdom (being) embraced in the Bible, a being in itself contained the credentials that invites one to acquire in order to obtain the beginning of learning wise knowledge.

The third literature that defined *Tala-Tukufakaholo* as a concept is a 20th century usage is evident on HM Queen Salotes *Writings* (1958-9), stating,

Ko e Tala na’e ikai hano tohi, ka e kei Tukufakaholo mei he ngutu ki he telinga, mei he matu’a ki he fanau. (Queen Salote Tupou III).³⁷² [Wisdom³⁷³ were not documented on [paper] or [in] books but were passed down from mouth[s] to ear[s], by fathers to their children. (translation – author)]

This usage of the term in HM Queen Salotes’ *Writing* defined *Tala-Tukufakaholo* as a being in itself. *Tala* is the body or the reality (history) and the suffix *Tukufakaholo* provides the method of passing down the reality - history as source of knowledge. *Fakaholo* connotes a lineal timeframe and the successive patterns of practices to be repeated down along the line of generations. The later part of the definition qualifies the practice and specifically depicted is the practice of a father (older generation) to a son (younger generation). Thus, connotes the context of the *Kainga*

³⁷¹ Hymn No. 817 “Fling out the banner! Let it float.” In Methodist Conference (Great Britain), ed. *The Methodist Hymn-Book with Tunes* (London Methodist Conference Office 1933).

³⁷² Queen Salote Tupou III, *Ko e Ngaahi Tohi ‘a ‘Ene ‘Afio, 1958-59*, (The Writings of Queen Salote), T.S Copies in Palace Office Pangai, (P.O.P) Nuku’alofa, Tonga.

³⁷³ Chronicle or narrative, an amalgamation of the whole may be related to what is claimed as meta-narrative.

– extended family. The practice of *Tala-Tala-i-Fale* – informing members of the *Kainga* about the Tongan *ethos* the means of instructing the children by their father. In verbal terms, it was carried from a Father’s mouth to the son’s ear successively. Here the concept is depicted as the body of wisdom and the method of passing down.

The fourth usage is by inference, the term is not written in Hebrew 1.1-2a.

“In the past God spoke to our forefathers through prophets at many times and in various ways, but in these last days he has spoken to us by his Son,...”
(*Na’e fakakongokonga mo angakebekebe ‘a e fai mu’a ‘e be ‘Otua ‘ene folofola ki be matu’a ‘i ha kau palofita, ka ‘i be faka’osi ‘o ono’abo na’a ne folofola kiate kitantolu ‘i ha ‘Alo;... [Moulton Trans.], (Hebrews.1:1-2a.)*

The term *Tala-Tukufakabolo* is inferred from the above text to mean God’s Words to the ancestors through prophets unfolded in different times in many diverse ways successively, but in last days God had spoken to the world through a son. In my view the whole of the Bible story is a *Tala-Tukufakabolo* in itself. The story about God who spoke to the ancestors – connotes the era of the patriarchs, and earlier generations through and through the people He chose as His messengers over different times and in many ways. The text is “word-based” and it began from the words of God Himself through the prophets to the ancestors of the global community as according to my interpretation of this text through the Hebrew narrator.

Tracing the existence of the concept *Tala-Tukufakabolo* in the documented literatures of Tongan history and historiography, proves two main features:

1. The fact that the concept was a commonly used term for graphing (documenting) the indigenous Tongan culture and history of God’s word being passed down to people over time and in many ways, and of wisdom about the fear of God. It is the “traditional wisdom used and told by the ancestral community in a successive way through and through to possess and inherited,”
2. The context upon which it was first used was social, religious, and family contexts. The concept is used in this thesis in hyphenated form, meaning it is separated by the punctuation – only to mean that the whole concept be understood “under” one term of *Tala*. The term hyphen means "together, in one," literally "under one," from hypo "under" (see sub-) + hen, neuter of heis "one."³⁷⁴ The leading concept is *Tala* – words of

³⁷⁴ Borrowed from this statement; “1620s, from Late Latin hyphen, from Greek hyphen "mark joining two syllables or words," probably indicating how they were to be sung, noun use of an adverb meaning "together,

wisdom of the past, being recorded, manifested, embodied or graphed on human, objects land or otherwise, in a successive way evolutionary (dying and rising) to the present.

In conclusion, *Tala-Tukufakaholo* is the Word-based organic body of wisdom and knowledge passed down from the past in the context of the people's life activities. Though it is a verbal phenomenon, it embraced under it wings the whole reality of people's life aspirations, philosophy and concerns about their gods (*Tala-'otua*), their world (*Tala-Tupu'anga*); their land (*Tala-e-Fonua*); their kainga (*Tala-'a-Kainga*), and their ethos (*Tala-tala-i-Fale*) the respective sources of their wisdoms.

5.3. *Tala-Tukufakaholo* and *Tala-e-Fonua* as History and Historiography.

I will compare and contrast *Tala-Tukufakaholo* and other concepts of Tongan culture and language that are related in use to mean history and historiography. It should be stated, that using the hyphenated term, it does mean that the concept of *TALA* – meaning Words of wisdom from the past is first and foremost in this study. Affixing *Tala* to the suffixes of *Tukufakaholo* signifies that *Tala* is its leading reality – the wisdom itself. The concept *Tala-Tukufakaholo* connotes the method to be practiced in a lineal successive manner.

Tala-Tukufakaholo embraced under its wings the following five derivatives. Analogously, it is like a mother, who value her children on equal terms. The children are the concepts: *Tala-'Otua* (theology) is the heir of all or rather the queen of all. The later derivatives are *Tala-Tupu'a* (Cosmology); *Tala-e-Fonua* (ethnology); *Tala-'a-Kainga* (ethnography); and *Tala-tala-i-Fale* (Tongan ethos teaching) are as listed valued sources of Tongan history and historiography.

Tala as a being in itself contains life, wisdom and method. It leads the way of self-recording all realities from an unseen position in the past and walked on in time to the present as the unseen reality. The English term “Orality” is defined as “vocal” and “speaking”³⁷⁵ which connote also the “voices of the past” and to be “carried out in speaking of the mouth”. *Tala* is the constitutive element of the Tongan culture, and way of life.

in one," literally "under one," from hypo "under" (see sub-) + hen, neuter of heis "one." Source: Online Etymology Dictionary, ©2010 Douglas Harper in <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/hyphen> (accessed 06.02.2017).

³⁷⁵ From the definition of “Oral” in Betty Kirkpatrick, "Oral " in *Roget's Thesaurus* ed. Betty Kirkpatrick(England Longman Group UK Ltd 1998).

For *Tuku*, Rabone has many definitions for the verbal form of *Tuku*; “to cease, to desist, to adjourn, to let, to suffer or allow, to bequeath; to slacken, to let go, to dye or stain.”³⁷⁶ It also means “to place upon”, “to fix a reality upon something” and also to “put an end to something”. *Fakabolo* refers to the actions of re-viewing and re-creating a reality in successive lineal manner.

The verbal form of *Tala* means “to tell” or “speak of” the word between two persons. *Tala* can also be used in a negative sense as Tongan slogan goes; “*Tala pea tala ke a’u kia Lose ve’e papala*,” – and its symbolic usage and meaning; “go and tell to Rose whose foot is rotten,” was a way of downplaying any claim of something important. *Tuku* as well in negative sense, can mean “to artifice” or “make something in pretense.”

From the analysis of the term *Tala-Tukufakabolo* in Tongan literatures above, it is evident that the term is defined as a way of *being* and a way of *knowing*, and thus theorized as a way for (re)-viewing Tongan history and *graphing* (suggesting here also the *crafting, grafting*) historiography of Tongan social realities in indigenous society. Its key elements serve as analytical lenses con-joining people’s stories (his & her-story) of the wisdom of the ancestral community being passed down as being and source of knowledge of the past. In all, it is the source of theological, cosmological, ethnological, generational, and ethical empowerments for Tongan people for over ten centuries or more.

Tala-Tukufakabolo in comparing to another Pacific society of the same origin; Tangaloans (Polynesians) the Maori language and culture is *Taonga*, which Tongan scholar Timote Vaoleti defined in his study as “treasures from ancestors,”³⁷⁷ in the context of Maori Whanau - extended family and their Whakapapa – “connected relationships” that is guided by the Kaupapa – “collective vision, philosophy” in that context of Kaupapa, Maori have a collective vision and philosophy for the best in education.

For Tonga and Tongan history is *Tala-Tukufakabolo* – meaning “wisdoms and treasures orally passed down from the ancestors”, and in the context of *Nonofo ‘a Kainga* – the socio-psyche³⁷⁸ communion of *ha’a* – confederations of *fa’ahinga*, the received *Tala* is embraced as their collective

³⁷⁶ See the term “Tuku” in The Rev. S. Rabone, "A List of Idiomatic Phrases, &C.," in *A Vocabulary of the Tonga Language, arranged in alphabetical order to which is annexed A LIST OF IDIOMATICAL PHRASES* ed. S. Rabone(Neiafu, Vava'u The Wesleyan Mission Press 1845). 208.

³⁷⁷ Vaoleti, "'Talanoa, Manulua and Founa Ako: Frameworks for Using, Enduring Tongan Educational Ideas for Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand,.'"(2011), 97.

³⁷⁸ Puloka, *Sia'atoutai Theological College: Handbook, 2006*

vision and philosophy to be *Tuku* - adhered and *fakabolo* – successively re-created. This is how *Tala-Tukufakabolo* constitutes history and historiography *par excellence* in Tongan society and as the collective vision and philosophy for economic, political, social, and spiritual aspirations to live as Tongans. As a whole it is the organic aggregate of the *corpus logus* of wisdom from the past and of the supernatural. Again, to quote what Konai Helu Thaman always referred to as *fakaTonga* – “as a belief and reliance in the supernatural.” In grafting history and historiography, we borrow from others; from below, from above, from south, north, east and west, and most importantly, we borrow from beyond – the eternal homeland.

Hau’ofa stated;

As far as I know our cultures have always been hybrid and hybridizing, for we have always given to and taken from our neighbours and others we encounter; but the dominant culture is undoubtedly the most hybrid of all, for it has not just borrowed but looted unconsciously the treasures of cultures the world over.³⁷⁹

5.4. ***Tala-E-Fonua: The Land-Based Culture.***

Tala-Tukufakabolo is word-based and *Tala-e-Fonua* is land-based. I have discussed the word-based *Tala-Tukufakabolo* from the beginning of this paper. I have also touched on an aspect of *Tala-e-Fonua* that was emphasized by Mahina in his PhD study.³⁸⁰ Now, I want to explore further the value of the Land-based culture.

Tala-Tukufakabolo has, at the center of its oral tradition the story of *Tala-e-Fonua* land-based tradition passed down from the ancestors. That land-based story emanated Tongan indigenous land-tenure to which the term *Tala-e-Fonua* stands for. According to the former President, principal of Pacific Theological College and Sia’atoutai Theological College and (Pacific) renowned theologian Sione ‘Amanaki Havea the term *Fonua* has many meanings which in all derived from the fact that *Fonua* means a woman. The first term for *Fonua* refers to the placenta where the *foetus* is being nurtured within the womb of the mother. Tongan *Tala-Tukufakabolo* dictates that the placenta is returned and buried in the ground after the birthing of the baby. The second usage of the term *Fonua* refers to the Land itself as being a mother. I believe it is related to the “motherland”

³⁷⁹ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember." (2000), 456-7.

³⁸⁰ Mahina, "The Tongan Traditional History *Tala-E-Fonua*: A Vernacular Ecology-Centred Historico-Cultural Concept." (1992).

concept as it claimed to be of the Aboriginal value. The third usage of the term *Fonua* refers to the people of the land and the associated Tongan culture; the people and the ways they think, act, and live in life, most especially the way they relate themselves to their *Tu'i* as sovereign ruler the fourth usage of the term *Fonua* is referred to the graveside of the dead.

Tala-e-Fonua as according to the above definitions as well as Havea suggested that Tongans believed the “Land is their mother”. Thus, as previously acknowledged, based upon that Land-Tenure it is the reason why Tongans wear *Ta'ovala* – waist mats. Tongans wear *Ta'ovala* as their way of paying respect to the Land upon which they stand on when landing. The canvas of the *kalia* (which was a woven mat) is cut and wrapped around their waist to cover up their genitalia before they stepped on the land. According to Havea he stated; “every time Tongans stand on the land, they are aware that they stand on the face of their mother.”³⁸¹ For this reason, all inhabitants of the land of Tonga; *Tu'i*, *Eiki* and *Kainangaefonua* all wear *Ta'ovala* – waist mat as their respect to the land as their mother. *Ta'ovala* is the mat that is worn around the waist and below the waist purposely to cover up one's nakedness. One must cover oneself up as respect to the mother, whose mother we trod upon every day we stand on the *Fonua* - land.

From this land-based tenure, only Tongan men were allowed to own lands. This is because only men can be custodians of the land who is a woman. No woman owns land because it was morally wrong and uncivilized to have a woman being the steward of another woman. For this reason, also the *Katoanga Inasi* was performed as “first Fruit” ceremony of giving back to the *Tu'i* Tonga, (the fertility god) what the mother had produced for their labor over the year. When the Christian missionaries came on our land and documented our customs into legal forms³⁸², the writers were, at the advice of the *Tu'i 'o Tonga* Tupou I to document his will regarding the land, based on the indigenous land-tenure on the 1875 Tonga Constitution states;

109. It is hereby solemnly declared by this Constitution that it shall not be lawful forever for anyone of this country, whether he be the King or any one of the Chiefs or anyone of the people of this land to sell one part of a foot of the ground of the kingdom of Tonga, but only to lease it in accordance with this Constitution. And this declaration shall be a most solemn covenant

³⁸¹ Sione 'Amanaki Havea, Lecture on Introduction to Biblical studies, STC. 1988.

³⁸² Vava'u Law Code, 1839; The 1850 Code, The Emancipation Act, 1862.

binding on the King and Chiefs of this Kingdom, for themselves and their successors forever.³⁸³

Such is the context in which Land was not allowed to be sold by anyone, even the King, chiefs or people themselves, because they could not sell their mother.

Reflecting on the same tradition of this Land-based land tenure, the aboriginal people of Australia believes the same Land-based land-tenure as their mother, but the Maori of Aotearoa possesses a somewhat different conception. The Maori believes that the “land is their ancestors.” They cannot sell the lands, because they cannot sell their ancestors. Gary Clover wrote an article “Mangungu evidence supports Maori understandings of the Treaty,” suggested that “Dr. John Beechem, the Secretary of Wesleyan Missionary Society’s Letter of 3 September, 1839 contained the essence of the Treaty, where the Mangungu evidence proves that “the Treaty of Waitangi imposed British sovereignty over Europeans in Aotearoa only, and not Maori.”³⁸⁴ Clover emphasized that “his letter supports the Maori understanding of the Treaty....and upholds Henry Williams translation into Maori of James Busby’s original English draft which promoted the understanding that the intent was for Maori chiefs to continue to exercise their full customary “tino rangatiratanga-chieftainship (governance) over all lands and resources.”³⁸⁵

This indicates how documentations of past realities can be problematic when writers and translators involved in putting orality into words. It is misleading especially when it comes to translating the reality from one language to another. The many translations of the original Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi have caused one of the greatest problems in the history of New Zealand. This problem of the many translations is understood by national leaders and the government, and yet nothing is done about it. Historians keep silent and the problem of colonization and injustice continues. Indigenous rights remain silent in the oral tradition. One can see in this vivid example of the many translations of the Treaty of Waitangi how manipulations occur in documentations of realities, and translations, and yet, no one can manipulate the indigenous oral reality that has stood the test of time over many centuries. To this, I recall my

³⁸³ See PART III: THE LANDS, in item 109 to 132, of the 1875 Tonga Constitution in Appendix A. in Sione Latukefu, *The Tongan Constitution: A Brief History to Celebrate Its Centenary* (Nuku'alofa Tonga Traditional Committee Publication 1975). 111-115.

³⁸⁴ Clover, "Mangungu Evidence Supports Maori Understandings of the Treaty [Waitangi]". p. 5.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

conversation with the historian Fr. Gareth Simon Grainger of Melbourne, Australia about the problem of manipulation which occurred in documentation of past realities.³⁸⁶

That *Tala-e-Fonua* – land-based story as argued by Mahina in his study³⁸⁷ is the basis of the Tongan indigenous land tenure, yet only a part of the *Tala-Tukufakaholo* – Word based tradition of Tonga holds by the oral tradition. I have ordered *Tala-e-Fonua* as the third derivative of the Five seeds: (*Tala-‘otua*; *Tala-Tupu’a*; *Tala-e-fonua*; *Tala-a-kainga* and *Tala-tala-i-fale*) of the whole Word-based Tongan *Tala-Tukufakaholo* Oral tradition.

5.5. *Tala-Tukufakaholo* and Talanoa:

Talanoa is the indigenous form of communication and presentation of all the Five *Tala* of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* – Word based framework. I acknowledge the definition of Talanoa in Education as defined by scholar Timote Vaoleti; It:

should never be mistaken for merely talking or having a discussion. It can be complex, ‘multi-layered and can range from a free to critical discussion. The discussion is not bound by having to remain within the two-way process of question and answer. Cultural interplays, silence, deep and reflective thought, eye and body movements are all part of the talanoa dynamism³⁸⁸

Tala is the leading word, and the form of its existence as a reality. The meaning is usually dictated by the concept that is affixed to it. *Talanoa mo hoku Loto* – means talking with my heart. From the inside position, Talanoa is made in the understanding that the past is being subjectively buried and deeply embedded within one’s *manatu*-memory, *a’usia*-experience, and *loto*-heart. That understanding may be related to how the Tongan scholar Sitiveni Halapua defined his “Talanoa” concept as “speaking from the heart”.³⁸⁹ On another level of interpretation, Albert Wendt says; “Inside us the dead”³⁹⁰ means one can Talanoa with the past that is buried within one’s heart. Again, I recalled the old lady, whose testimony upon which the *Titanic* film was produced,

³⁸⁶ Gareth Simon Grainger, Talanoa, Melbourne, 14 January, 2017.

³⁸⁷ Mahina, "The Tongan Traditional History *Tala-E-Fonua*: A Vernacular Ecology-Centred Historico-Cultural Concept."

³⁸⁸ Vaoleti, "'Talanoa, Manulua and Founa Ako: Frameworks for Using, Enduring Tongan Educational Ideas for Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand,.'" (2011), 117-8.

³⁸⁹ Halapua, "Talanoa-Talking from the Heart."; "Walking the Knife-Edged Pathways to Peace."

³⁹⁰ Wendt, "Inside Us the Dead ".

something similar to this statement; “the heart of a woman is like a deep ocean.”³⁹¹ *Tala-Tukufakabolo* is deeply buried within the hearts of the people (of the global society) who live on to today, and where the realities of the past could be drawn.

From an old man of the village definition, *Tala-Noa* means “the reclaiming of the value of Noa”³⁹² Noa is defined as the super-circle of an encountered parties, and which centered a community. In Tongan oral tradition and culture – an ‘ulumotu’a is the Noa of a community at the village level, whereas, a Tu’i is the Noa – center point at the state level. The faifekau is the Noa in the circle of the Lotu, while the chief is the Noa in the circle of the village Fono. Tala is the reclaiming by proclamation of the associated Noa, thus, to *Talanoa*, was to reclaim the value of the associated Noa in any encounter. But one may ask why reclaim the point of an encounter? If we look at the encounter between the Western conventional and the local Pacific education for example, Konai Helu Thaman warned us Pacific students to,

...look at our Western educational legacies, their philosophies, ideologies, and pedagogies, which for nearly 200 years have not fully recognized the way Oceanic peoples communicate, think, and learn—ideologies that sought to destroy the values and belief systems underpinning indigenous education systems in which the majority of Oceanic peoples were and continue to be socialized.³⁹³

And from her “teacher-student”, and “worthwhile learning” point of view she added,

As a teacher who is still a learner, I think decolonizing Pacific studies is about reclaiming indigenous Oceanic perspectives, knowledge, and wisdom that have been devalued or suppressed because they were or are not considered important or worthwhile.³⁹⁴

The encounter between the Western and the local Oceanic realities is the Noa and it is the call of the Pacific students to reclaim the value of the Noa – the suppressed reality that has not been considered important and worthwhile. Our word-based realities and land-based tenure were not in any way important to the colonizers. In our *Talanoa* with the Western world we need to reclaim those values that are buried within the heart as colonized Tongans in our encounter with the

³⁹¹ I borrowed this statement from the film “Titanic”.

³⁹² Paula Onoafe Latu, “Divisions within Tongan Methodism: The Impact of Fakatonga and Fakakainga,” in *Talanoa Rhythms: Voices from Oceania*, ed. Nasili Vaka’uta (Auckland: Pasifika@Massey, 2011).

³⁹³ Konai Helu Thaman, “Decolonizing Pacific Studies: Indigenous Perspectives, Knowledge, and Wisdom in Higher Education,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 15, no. 1 (2003). 2.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

Western colonizers for decolonization. Tongan educationalist ‘Ana Maui Taufe’ulungaki contrasted the key values (which, in my view are the Noa that needed to be reclaimed) of Western and Tongan societies:

The key values of Western societies are often said to relate to individual rights and freedoms; justice in terms of equality; protection of privacy; promotion of competition and consumerism, and scientific-rational thinking....[whereas] Tongan values on the other hand, which are similar to the values of other Pacific communities, emphasize the holistic nature of life and centrality of good relationships; the connectivity of the past, present and future; of people, land, sea, and sky, and the spirituality that bind them together.³⁹⁵

Each *Tala* has its own protocol of presentation and to disclose and unravel these values from the deep we must enter into them with our *Tala-Tukufakaholo* framework to bring them out.

The word-based presentation of *Tala-’otua* is known as *Lotu* – meaning “conveyance of a searching for the most important reality of life” – *Talanoa Lotu*. The term *Lotu* in Tongan means – *Kumi* – searching for something important. Orality holds the statement *Lotu Kai* refers to “people wandering the bush searching for food.” When *Tala’otua* is held in *Talanoa* form it is a “presentation of a graph about the ‘otua – gods. Stephen Rabone’s *Vocabulary*, defines *Lotu* in the English meaning as “prayer, devotion, adoration, worship, to pray or worship,”³⁹⁶ but not Tongan. The same definition is published with Churchward’s Dictionary.³⁹⁷ Hence, the indigenous meaning of the term is left and gone unnoticed.

Tala-Tupu’anga is presented in *Talanoa* form as a claiming of the value of the *Tupu’anga* - cosmos in its three-decked world context from a Tongan oral tradition. *Tala-e-Fonua* holds its *Talanoa* about the inhabitants of the three-decked world of *Langi* by *Kau Tangaloa* pantheon, and the *Fonua* governed singularly by *Hikule’o*, and the *Lolofonua* by the *Kau Maui*. This is where the three main classes of Tongan gods belonged and its three main classes of people of *Tu’i*, *’eiki* and *kainangaefonua* emanated and of which also the three hierarchy of Tongan languages had been derived to be the *Talanoa* of the *Tala-’a-kainga*. Wherefrom, this point, the *Talanoa* is framed inward towards moral qualities by the investment of *Tala-tala-i-Fale* as *Talanoa* of Tongan ethos.

’Ulungaanga lelei – good moral behavior was a goal of ethic in the life of Tongan people, meaning one must live according to the *Tala* of the four Tongan cardinal virtues in *Aoniu* – holistic terms;

³⁹⁵ Taufe’ulungaki, "Keynote Address by the Minister for Education, Women Affairs and Culture." (2011), 3.

³⁹⁶ See “Lotu” in Rabone, "A List of Idiomatic Phrases, &C.." 154.

³⁹⁷ Churchward, "Introduction."

Faka'apa'apa, *Faka'aki'akimui*, *Ta'efieauna*, and *'Ofaongongofua*.³⁹⁸ The whole Talanoa of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* history and historiography of Tonga is *Aoniu* - “holistic nature” of the Tongan organic unity of [Tala-Tukufakaholo] life”, it is *faka-Kainga* “inter-relational”, and *fekaukau'aki* “inter-connectedness of – “persons and people, past and present, looking forward for a better future”. *Tala-'otua* placed the Tongan minds in the framework of the *fakaTonga* way which, again, to quote Thaman stated, “a belief and total reliance in the supernatural” – which in my own translation is “*Ko e tui mo e matu'aki falala fakamaatoato ki he Mafimafi 'o e Ta'e Ha Mai*”.

In contrast to the positive aspects and definitions of the term, there is also a negative side. Within the whole of 80 derivatives of Tala as recorded by Rabone in his Vocabulary I have picked the main ones that related to *Tala-Tukufakaholo* derivatives. These includes concepts like *Talaibangamai* – Rabone defines as “To speak so and so because the party is present.”³⁹⁹ It literally means a cover up story for a person upfront. *Tala Faikitano* means “to speak to the deads,” and *Talafaitu'unga* means “to speak having a foundation; to be free from that for which we reprove others.” *Talakeikaba* means “precautions, premonition” as to forewarn or to premonish someone of an encountered danger. *Talamokabui* – means to “speak guardedly.” For the sake of the antagonist there were also derivatives for the negatives of life included *Talangata'a* – “disobedience,” and *Talafi* (v.) – “to investigate a case, to tell one of another in a clandestine way,” and “*Talalakulaku* – “to speak irreverently and disrespectfully,” are all forms of Talanoa.

5.6. *Tala-Tukufakaholo and Tala-FakaFonua:*

Talanoa as a presentation of the whole story of the land and the people means *Tala-Fakafonua*, meaning that *Tala-Tukufakaholo* brings the past wisdom to the present and the aspect of the whole that focus directly upon the relationships of the People and the Land depicts the concept Tala-Fakafonua. It includes, Fonua as people – *Tu'i*, *Eiki*, *Kainangaefonua*, and *Fonua*, who, on the basis of the land-based tenure (motherland) described earlier lived and let live it as their culture – the way of running the *nonofo-'a-kainga* systems of life on the land of Tonga. *Nonofo-'a-kainga* in theological school village setting is well defined by principal of Sia'atoutai Theological College Tevita M. Puloka, from his theological perspective as;

corpus of the Tongan *theos-logos*, there is the socio-psychic force, *nofo-'a-kainga* living together as in communal living, which moulds and directs both the behavior as well as the social physical structure of the society. This *nofo 'a*

³⁹⁸ Salote, "Ko E Tohi 'a 'Ene 'Afio, 1958-59, (the Writings of Queen Salote)."

³⁹⁹Stephen Rabone, "Talaibangamai " in *A Vocabulary of the Tongan Language arranged in alphabetical order to which annexed A LIST OF IDIOMATIC PHHRASES.* , ed. S. Rabone(Neiafu Wesleyan Mission Press 1845). 190.

kainga force gives the Tongan society a sort of *anima mundi*, which Tongans called “*ongo'i*” and “*fakalaumalie*”.⁴⁰⁰

Puloka emphasized *ongo'i* and *fakalaumalie* as the sentimental substance of *nofo 'a kainga*. That reflects the intimacy of inter-relationships and inter-connectedness of Tongan *Tu'i*, *Hon'eiki*, and *Kainangaefonua nonofo 'a kainga* as being passed down from the past. The three classes all shared one common Fonua ritual – wearing of Ta'ovala -waist mat as their respect to the land. Fonua as governance – means the Kava forum and all its officials seating and protocol. Thus, when the *Komiti Talafakafonua* was instituted by the initiate of the H.M. Queen Tupou III, it aimed at collecting and documenting all this information about Tongan people and the way they have lived upon the land over many centuries to date.

The literature was collected as documented *Tala-FakaFonua* at the Queen's request; the proceedings thereof are the property of the Fonua (in holistic term) and is kept in the Palace Office archive, controlled and supervised by the Lord Chamberlin Lord Vaea.⁴⁰¹ These include; H.M. Queen Salote's *Writings*,⁴⁰² and Her document of the *Tobi Hoboko* - Royal Genealogy⁴⁰³ and Her many *Hiva* - songs compositions, *Upee* – Lullabies; *Laulau* – Recitals; *Tutulu* – Laments; *Ta'anga Ma'ulu'ulu* and *Lakalaka* and *Hiva Fakatata* – Drama all reflect her enormous talents. Her Majesty's gifted talents of being a poet, musician, choreographer, intelligent and gracious promoter of peace and unity of Tonga, had been published in full by Elizabeth Wood-Ellem in *Songs and Poems of Queen Salote*.⁴⁰⁴ Reading through these literatures one can feel the *anima mundi* of *ongo'i* and *fakalaumalie* described by Puloka in the *nonofo-'a-kainga* - communal living of a *Tu'i of Tonga*, and her people.⁴⁰⁵ This inexplicable sentiment that permeates the hearts of people is the internal core of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* that binds together today's generations as the *Fonua* to the ancestral community who were the *Fonua* in the past. *Tala-Tukufakaholo* is the first principle from which *Tala-Fakafonua*

⁴⁰⁰ See in the “Foreword” by Puloka, *Sia'atoutai Theological College: Handbook*, 2006 7.

⁴⁰¹ Any researcher who wishes to do research and study the history of Tonga must seek permission from the Lord Chamberlin Lord Vaea.

⁴⁰² Salote, “*Ko E Tohi 'a 'Ene 'Afio, 1958-59*, (the Writings of Queen Salote).”

⁴⁰³ Queen Salote, “*Ko E Tohi Hohoko 'a Kuini Salote Tupou* (Genealogy Book of Queen Salote Tupou).”, in *T.S.Copy*(Nuku'alofa: Palace Office Archive, n.d.).

⁴⁰⁴ Wood-Ellem, *Songs & Poems of Queen Salote*. (2004).

⁴⁰⁵ Puloka, *Sia'atoutai Theological College: Handbook*, 2006

is derived to encapsulate the whole inter-connectedness of people and the land in its composite term.

For Tongans *Tala-FakaFonua* as a literature of information and wisdom in indigenous form means the hidden principle of communion that binds all lineages who often meet to “interact and inter-connected”, dined and danced with many long speeches where the genealogical connections, history and lineages’ aspirations are recited for long hours before departing full of laughter and or with tears, and a full stomach. In that way, all citizens of the land pay respect to their motherland of Tonga in one way or another and may leave the occasion unrecognized. Nevertheless, one’s heart is filled with the joy of the *Fonua*-Land in composite term. The *Tala of the Fonua* is being unfolded in *Tala-Tukufakabolo* way; through recitations, songs, *faiva*, shared in *Lea* - speeches and the *ongo’i* of the presence of the ancestral community is felt and experienced to its depth of *fakalaumalie* by all, before departing as custodians of the *Fonua* - land.

For idiomatic usage of the term suffixing *Tala* Rabone listed four phrases: “*Tala ‘afineji’ikaikaimavivi*” means “The report of one who tells what is right, but treated with contempt.”⁴⁰⁶ This thesis writing and argument of the concept hopes that it will be not be met with contempt, if it tells the right thing about the history of Tonga and historiography. The second term says; “*Talabo’uli’abuko*” means “To back bite and be overheard by the party,” and the next is “*Talabeituamamao*”, means “To talk or report from outside” or from a fair distance. This aspect of space keeping in Tongan culture is very important. When approaching someone for a cultural presentation/or official communication, a special distance must be kept as a point of reverence. The third phrase is “*Talata’efaka’ejia*” means “To say and do not, to say one thing and do the contrary.” This is a warning to us Tongans who argue our indigenous realities, to argue and live it.

Most Tongan scholars who have learnt under the Western hegemony are “*Talataefakaejia*” in that we say the right thing but never bother to do it because we still value the Western ways more than ours. To such a way of life, H.M. Queen Salote on her warning for Tongans who have proved the validity and effectiveness of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* for the whole built up of Tongan society and culture earmarked them as “*To’utangata Kailu*” - and “*ako tukukongaloto*.” This, the queen meant that here we witness a generation who are “greatly confused” and who possess ‘half framed thoughts.’⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁶ Rabone, "A List of Idiomatic Phrases, &C.." (1845), 217.

⁴⁰⁷ A social problem Her Majesty Queen Salote labelled as “to’utangata kailu” – confused generation, and “ako tukukongaloto” – generations with half framed thoughts. See Salote, “*Ko E Tohi 'a 'Ene 'Afio, 1958-59*, (the Writings of Queen Salote).”

They have neglected their Tala-Tukufakaholo and enjoyed the easy ways of life which lead them into a stage of neither here nor there. The situation of losing their *Tala-Tukufakaholo* – their identities. But how can we resolve these problems and revive our hidden treasures?

The *last* concept to study here is Ta-La[n]ga – which Rabone defines as “to converse over.” I define Ta-Langa as “cut” and “build” over in a conversation and a dialogue. In the context of learning, the process of learning by *Ta* and *Langa* – cut and build in and over a conversation is to be well applied. In a conversation, one must have the courage to *cut in* and *build* an argument over a conversation and enrich the dialogue. This practice was known to be practice in the Tongan official forum of *Taumafa Kava*. When the *Matapule Fai Fatongia* has done something wrong in the protocol, one finds space to cut in and langa – build a *Talanoa*. It is sometimes known in a humble level as *langa langa talanoa* – starts a conversation to amuse and to inform a gathering or group of some sorts of story. This *Tala-Tukufakaholo* argument is a *langa langa talanoa* for a conversation about a possibility of *Ta-Langa* – cut and build through the stagnant point of Tongan history and historiography. We need to *be* and *know* what we ought to do.

5.7. Social Considerations.

The first ever consideration of the value of Tongan history and historiography for Tongan society was given by Her Majesty some time before summoning the *Hon'eiki 'o e Fonua* in 1950's to institute the *Komiti Talafakafonua*. Since then, researchers were assigned to conduct researches on different aspects of Tonga history. This is the context upon which the importance of the concept *Tala-Tukufakaholo* was to be made known to the society by the *Komiti Tala FakaFonua 'o Tonga* - Tonga Traditions Committee. In Her Majesty Queen Salote *Tupou III Writings* (1958-9)⁴⁰⁸ documented the concept as an oral way of historiography by Tongan people of the past. The Tonga Traditions Committee revived the *Tala-Tukufakaholo* – as the remembered past of the Tongan people by documenting it. Salote noted on her *Writing* that Tongans must “*keli ke a'u ki he maka*” - dig to reach the foundation rock of the nation. Queen Salote believed that “*malohi mo e tolonga 'o e langa 'o e langa ma'olunga 'oku fai, 'oku pau ke tu'unga 'i he makaloloto 'oku fai ai 'a e langa*” - the firm establishment of a nation depends on the depth and the strong foundation upon which it was built. She referred to the “*ma'uma'uluta mo lelei 'a e makatu'unga 'i he kuobili*” - the strong foundation of Tongan past on *Tala-Tukufakaholo* as traditional wise advices from past ancestors. In that context Salote asserted in her *Writings*;

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

Ko e Tala na'e 'ikai hano tobi, ka e kei Tukufakaholo mei he ngutu ki he telinga, mei he matu'a ki he fanau. (Queen Salote Tupou III).⁴⁰⁹ [Their Words, wisdoms, and stories⁴¹⁰ were not documented on [paper] or [in] books but were passed down from mouth[s] to ear[s], by fathers to their children. (translation – author)]

Queen Salote as leader of the island kingdom believed that *Tala-Tukufakaholo* was the foundation rock of the nation, which is embedded in the *loto* - heart, *mo'ui* - life and *'ulungaanga* - attitude of the people. Salote further wrote;

Ko e makatu'unga 'o e fonua, pe pule'anga kotoa pe ko e lota, mo e mo'ui, mo e anga 'o e kakai. (Queen Salote) [The great foundation of every nation and their governances are in the hearts, life and experiences of their people]. (translation – author).

Here Salote referred to the *Tala-Tukufakaholo* as being engraved in the heart, experiences of the people's life and culture. This also entailed the fact that truth of and about life was empirically received through oral communications from a living source (of life) in the past. In the narrower view, it was the passing down of words from 'a father to a son' but on a wider view, it was from the 'Father creator to the global human society'. From Her Majesty's *Writings* this concept of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* attracted my attention to conceptualize it for an ontological study of History and an epistemological interpretive methodology of Tongan historiography.

For a transformation of that indigenous oral knowledge from the past to the present generation, we must learn how to value them in ways that are comprehensive and pertinent to our identities, history and beliefs. Now we turn to the teachers who have worked the field for years. The three main leading scholars who are father and mothers of Education, History and Culture for Tonga, Hau'ofa, Thaman and Taufe'ulungaki.

Thaman suggested that we must look back to the sources of our cultures and "some interesting findings, relating to learning in traditional [Tongan] settings". She listed the following:

1. Learning through observation and imitation rather than verbal instruction. [emulation]⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁹ Queen Salote Tupou III, *Ko e Ngaahi Tohi 'a 'Ene 'Afio, 1958-59*, (The Writings of Queen Salote), T.S Copies in Palace Office Pangai, (P.O.P) Nuku'alofa, Tonga.

⁴¹⁰ The term *Tala* is being variedly translated as tales, stories or myth, but in the context of *Tala-Tukufakaholo*, it is here referred to as Words, Wisdoms, and stories or narratives, to encapsulate its verbal form of which was also *fakamatala me'a hokohoko* successively narrating or chronologically told of events according to time and generations of an era, from the known original period down to present.

⁴¹¹ I have added to Thaman's list the bracketed terms.

2. Learning by doing rather than learning from talk and demonstration. [demonstration]
3. Learning in real-life situations rather than abstractions. [practical]
4. Learning wholes rather than sequenced parts (for example, learning a song by listening to the whole song rather than learning the different parts of a song separately). [holism]
5. Learning skills and understanding for specific contexts; (in other words, learning specifics rather than general principles). [*Tala-tala-i-Fale*]
6. Learning is person-oriented, not information or subject oriented; in other words, focussing on people, rather than issues and information (Harris, 1984).⁴¹²

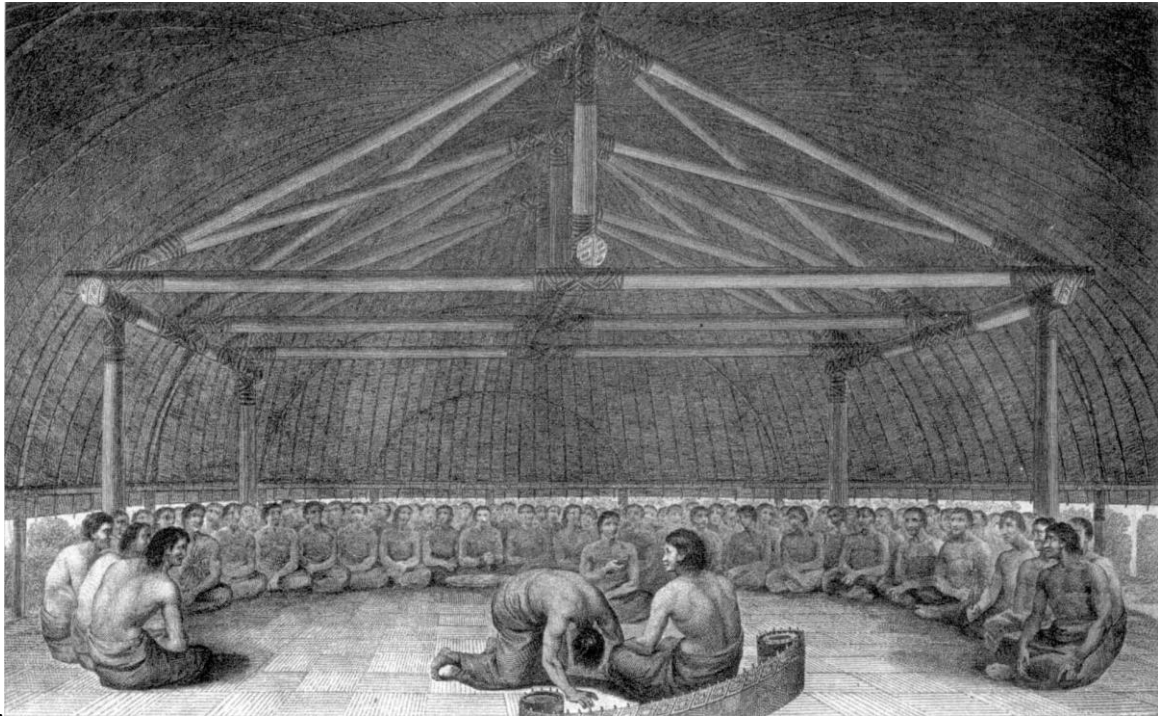
The best point to start is learning by observation. This Methodology study suggests learning through emulation and demonstrations in practical community setting aiming at holistic strategy of the *Tala-Tukufakaholo* way. The above tasks are viewed here as Method of Tala for Learning of History, Education and Culture by a mother/father to the ears of daughters and sons in the *Fale 'o Kainga o Tonga - A Tala-tala-i-Fale* for the better and a *Tala-Tukufakaholo* Methodology for the now and the future. It is envisaged that a better achievement will be expected of the younger generations of Tonga when they will have the autonomy of learning their realities through their Method of Talanoa, and Methodology of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* and continue to *Ta-Langa* – cut in and build up for holism.

On the chapters to follow, we shall learn more about how *Tala-Tukufakaholo* in its tripartite forms are practically applied by people of Tongan in its oral communal setting.

⁴¹² Thaman, "Looking Towards the Source: A Consideration of (Cultural) Context in Teacher Education". 11.

CHAPTER SIX: *Tala-Tukufakaholo* Case Study One – Four Partite Ha’a Tu’i of Tonga.

6.1. The Shift: *Tala-Tukufakaholo* in world history and historiography.



(Adapted from Google images the drawing of John Webber who accompanied Captain James Cook in his 1777 visit to Tonga, to capture the 36th Tu’i Tonga Bau and his government where the practice of moemoe was in progress).⁴¹³

I ask for a shift from conventional to alternative, and I must draw on the world stage as to how I can do it. Shifting people from one place to another is not an easy task. Shifting any group of people on the face of the earth is not easy, because of their ancestral roots. This *Tala-Tukufakaholo* work takes the ancestral roots of the people of Tonga seriously. As the middle eastern scholar Edward Said commented “Everybody has a history.... to be human is to have and make history. That is what distinguished us from animals.”⁴¹⁴ All people, in my view have roots which are deeply grounded in the past. To neglect that deeply rooted ground of a people of the earth is, in my view, a great disempowerment, which no one could argue with. This ancestral root may be related to what Hau’ofa called the “a piece of earth to which; I belong” his “anchor,” which he further

⁴¹³ See the same photo in Paul W Dale, *The Tonga Book* (London: Minerva Press, 1996), History. Figure 11. 192.

⁴¹⁴ Borofsky, ""Post Colonial Politics - a View from Afar (Middle East)-an Interview with Edward Said." (2000), 446.

claimed that “No one can take it away from [him].”⁴¹⁵ Alternative means reconnecting people with their ancestral roots and situating them in their proper cultural location and beliefs.

In that reconnection one should be able to read through the sequential profile from the present to their anchor in the past. This can be done in many ways; through various ways of reminiscences, representations and artefacts. The most accepted one is the documentations, orality, the statues and monuments, the landscapes, seascapes, and sea routes and the living generations and their arts and crafting works.

Before attempting to narrate the sequence of the Ha’a Tu’i Tonga as artefacts of history and historiography to prove my point, I will attempt to narrate a brief history of the Bayeux Tapestry as overseen by Queen Matilda and relate it to the *Tala-Tukufakaholo* of Tongan Ha’a Tu’i. It is hoped that relating the Bayeux Tapestry of King William of Great Britain will help to enlighten and make sense how one can read through the four eras of the fourpartite Tongan Ha’a Tu’i of Tonga and its development over the past ten centuries. The Ha’a Tu’i of Tonga kingships development will be viewed as living history and surviving artefacts, and the places they lived left land marks, Tala-e-Fonua - on the land and the monumental works that still survive to date. The Ha’amonga – Trilithon and *’otu Langi* – royal tombs for examples are the most obvious examples. Some of those Landscapes, Land marks and names of places, genealogies surviving to this day have stood the test of time.

The rationale of presenting the Ha’a Tu’i development is to prove the point of argument that *Tala-Tukufakaholo* in its totality encapsulates the history of Tonga and the oral historiography at its best. It may be rendered as the Queen Matilda of Tonga, that existed in concealment and silently overseeing what the present generations are weaving into the whole *Tala-Tukufakaholo* as the Fala *Lalanga* – grafting of history and Oral historiography for Tonga. The co-existence of the *Tala-Tukufakaholo* with the Western led version of our history ensures that they have different values and emphasis. It is also hoped that narrating the whole development of the four-partite Ha’a Tu’i of Tonga one may be able to read in it the indigenous pattern of Tongan *way of life* and the manifestation of Tongan oral historiography over ten centuries (950-2017).

6.2. *Tala-Tukufakaholo* – the Tongan oral historiography and – The Bayeux Tapestry

⁴¹⁵ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember." (2000), 470.



The Bayeux Tapestry as Overseen by Queen Matilda.

The Bayeux Tapestry as an artefact, is a great Middle Ages historical records of a Living history. The Reading Museum website states; “The Bayeux Tapestry tells the tale of William the Conqueror’s invasion of England through pictorial panels.”⁴¹⁷ The original Bayeux Tapestry is said to have been commissioned by Bishop Odo of Bayeux, in Normandy, France. It is also said that nothing is known about its origin, however, the Reading Museum website stated, that Elizabeth Wardle, a “skilled embroider and member of the Leek Embroidery Society in Stafford,” wished to do research of the original Tapestry. She aimed to make a replica of the original Tapestry that is kept in the Cathedral Treasury in Bayeux, Normandie, France. Elizabeth Wardle visited France in 1885 and photograph the whole Tapestry and returned to Britain and summoned 35 women to create replica of the Tapestry for the purpose of Britain’s having their own Victorian Replica of the original Tapestry. The tales about the original;

The Bayeux Tapestry was probably commissioned in the 1070s by Bishop Odo of Bayeux, half-brother of William the Conqueror. It is over 70 metres long and although it is called a tapestry it is in fact an embroidery, stitched not woven in woollen yarns on linen. Some historians argue that it was

⁴¹⁶ Borrowed from Source: <http://factfile.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Facts-about-Bayeux-Tapestry.jpg> (accessed 27.02.2017).

⁴¹⁷ Elizabeth Wardle, *Britain's Bayeux Tapestry: The Victorian Replica - "England Should Have a Copy of Its Own."*, 1885 70 metres long Reading Museum

embroidered in Kent, England. The original tapestry is on display at Bayeux in Normandy, France.

Another source stated about the original Tapestry that “For many years a pleasant tale told of William’s wife, Queen Matilda, and her ladies making the tapestry as a gift to her victorious husband...”⁴¹⁸

The ambitious project that aimed to “make a full-sized and accurate replica of the Bayeux Tapestry "so that England should have a copy of its own" was done in just over a year. What is historiographically fascinating in the original Tapestry of Bayeux and the replica of the original Tapestry in Great Britain is that the chapters of Britain’s history had been embroidered on the Tapestry. The Tapestry or the embroidered panel tells the stories of the past in chapters.



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THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

These portraits of the Tapestry can also be related in Tonga to *Tapa Making* and *Fala Lalanga* designs. The woven patterns on the *Fala Lalanga* and the portrayed *Kupesi* - designs on *Ngatu* offer not only a story of the past but the wisdom in arts and crafting. But those two facts of history are major facts of the whole Tongan *Tala-Tukufakabolo* oral historiography. The stories embroidered in Tapestry and the Ngatu kupesi designs and the Fala Lalanga patterns must be interpreted to give their stories of the past.

⁴¹⁸ William's half brother Odo, *Bayeux Tapestry*

⁴¹⁹Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bayeux_Tapestry (accessed 27.02.2017).

Hence, I chose to use the Ha'a Tu'i of Tonga development (950-2017) as an embroidered living panel of history that has had woven into it the stories, their landmarks, monuments and genealogies and much more, which speak for themselves without much interpretation. The survival of the Ha'a Tu'i of Tonga over the past ten centuries is supported by the surviving oral history of Tonga and the surviving legacies on land, the monumental objects and traditions on land and associated sites are great evidence for its authenticity.

6.3. The Four partite Ha'a Tu'i of Tonga: 950-2017 AD.

1. THE HA'A TU'I TONGA.
2. THE HA'A TU'I TAKALAU.
3. THE HA'A TU'I KANOKUPOLU.
4. THE HA'A TU'I TONGA TUPOU.

I will re-view and narrate the Ha'a Tu'i of Tonga in the light of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* as indigenous ways of art-[ing] and crafting of *Toto'i 'eiki* (sacred blood) animated in the successive four partite Ha'a Tu'i to the latest, current ruling Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou.

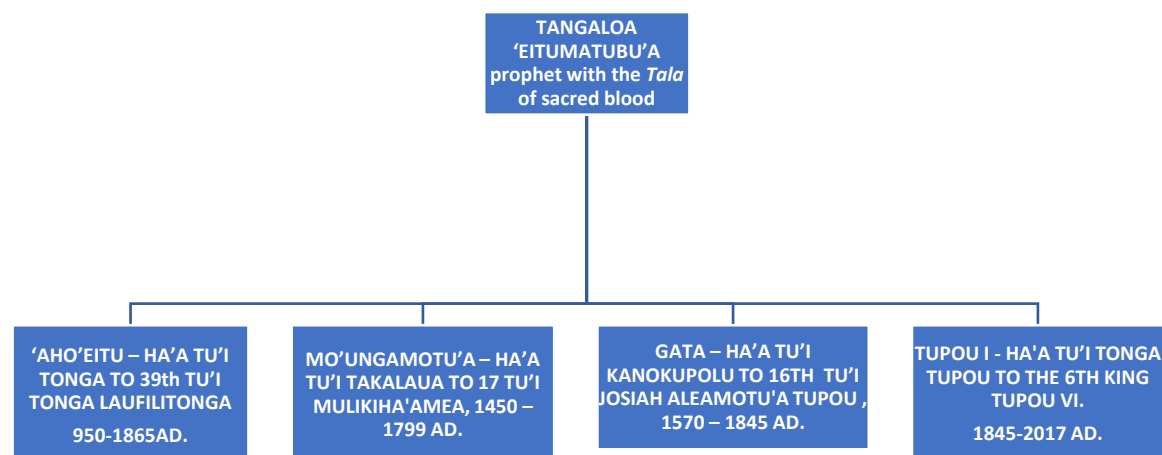


Figure 5.1. The Four-partite Ha'a Tu'i of Tonga believed to have been originated from a sky-god Tangaloa 'Eitumatubu'a. The last lineage of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou is my own coinage based on the development of the Moheofo practice - where a lady of the Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu must be offered as Moheofo to the Tu'i Tonga to produce a progeny which in actual fact, an amalgamation of all the blood lines of the other three Ha'a Tu'i, an initiative of King Tupou I.

6.4. The Context of the Ha'a Tu'i Development:

Tala-'otua from the *Tukufakabolo* Oral historiography holds that the sky-god *Tangaloa 'Eitumatubu'a* descended from the sky on the *Toa ko To'onangakava* – iron tree that stood and touch the sky.⁴²⁰ 'Eitumaubu'a cohabited with *'Ilaheva Va'e 'o Popua* at the first Ha'amonga⁴²¹ to produce the first-born baby, who was received as incarnation of the sky-god 'Eitumatubu'a on the Tapu land of Tonga in 950AD. I have discussed this cohabitation (in earlier chapters) as an event that happened in time and place, the genealogies, the landmarks, landscape of Popua and the 'Uluaki Ha'amonga, the *Sia Heu Lupe* – Pigeon Snaring and the *Tala e Fonua of Siu Mafua 'i 'uta-* Tales about the Landing place of 'Ilaheva supports the claim for this event. The spiritual and temporal Tu'i Tonga 'Aho'eitu began his ruling of Tonga, the Tapu land from Popua – at Ha'amonga. From then onwards, the three classes of people to settle in Tonga were: the Tu'i 'o Tonga – incarnation of 'Eitu in Tonga who was 'Aho'eitu; the lady whose womb was blessed by the touch of the sky-god, then created the 'eiki class. The other people who were not related to the Tu'i (Tangaloa clan) nor the lady 'Ilaheva (chiefly clan) but people who were not related to the descried event, including visitors and foreigners were known as the *Kainangaefonua* – the servants who valued and worked the Fonua - land.

Thus, from then on, Tongan society had three classes of people lived in Tonga, with a worldview of living upon the three-decked world of *Langi*, *LoloFonua* and *Fonua-Pulotu* as per Gunson's diagram featured earlier. It is believed the three classes of language for each class emanated from this theological animism. The three different languages for each the three classes, is hierarchical in nature, and was in honour of the son of the sky-god 'Aho'eitu. The lady was known to be the 'eiki – because of the land tenure of Fonua (based) as described earlier, and also her womb was 'eiki, for through it, the highest person who will hold the Tapu of the society was to be born. Ladies of Tonga is believed to be from this point onward, were honoured for their love, passion and their womb in embracing the sky-god.

For all the Tongan traditional history, this *Tala-'otua* which manifested in the four partites of Ha'a Tu'i holds the most powerful force that influenced the Tongan worldview, culture and attitudes.

Moreover, and time wise; Tongan people exist in a three-dimensional framework of vertical Time-space; *kuongamu'a* – leading era, *lolotonga* - present Tonga, and *kaba'u 'amui* - which is to come

⁴²⁰ Gunson, "Tongan Historiography: Shamanic Views of Time and History." (1996), 16.

⁴²¹ Moulton, "Notes on Tongan History and Tongan Legends."

later)⁴²². On the horizon we communally live as People in a three-dimensional framework; *Tu-i* – is embodiment of the *Tu* – god (sky values); *'eiki* – is the lady whose womb acts a priest or *Taula* of the Land, and Sea (*fonua & moana*), and the *kainangaefonua* – are the stewards of the land values from the underworld (*afi o lolofonua*).⁴²³ That is how the term *kainga* “community” or “communal” is compositely defined - “our dead” (past), “our living” (present), and “our children” (to come in the future). They are like a *kafa fi tolu* – tri-partite woven sinnet/rope bounded to our abdomen, while we co-operatively cultivated our land, fished our Sea, carved our *tiki*, designed our tapa cloth and thatched our *fale* in our struggles for survival.

These vertical and horizontal dimensions and views of life may depict what I call the holistic view of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* framework (TTF). Holistically, from any angle, one captures the whole; past, present and the future, underworld, land and the sky; the *Tu'i*, *'Eiki* and *Kainangaefonua* respectively. I am glad to have lived on land with my *'eiki* and *Tu'i*. In a way, the family is the miniature of the whole global world; where the *Tamai*, the *Fa'e*, and the *Fanau* made up the tripartite entities of existence in community. Having actually lived in that Time and space framework in the spiral cycle pattern from the past to the present it gives weight to the *Tala-Tukufakabolo* values. In reference to the spiral view of the Tongan people, *'Asinate Samate* quoted a work of another Tongan scholar:

There are two parts to her thesis: (1). That God is central to the thinking of the Tongans; and (ii). that the traditional way of thinking of Tongans (especially those born and raised in Tonga) is spiral, compared to the linear and logical thinking of scientific method as taught in Western academic education and modern science and technology. She claims that the unity of the Tongan “spiral thinking” and the “centrality of God in the thinking of the Tongans” are also double strands and layers that belong together.⁴²⁴

The best example for this claim of spiral thinking may be echoed in another Tongan scholar T.M. Puloka's statement; “In Tonga a straight line is only a curve.”⁴²⁵ Further, it is also evident in the metaphoric applications of Tongan language in *faiva Ta'anga*, *Hiva* and other *heliaki* poetry and

⁴²² See a discussion of this Tongan timeframe in Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember." (2000), 459-460.

⁴²³ I refer to the three decked world of the *langi*, *fonua* and *lolofonua* which Gunson himself drew and is quoted in this thesis.

⁴²⁴ 'Asinate F. Samate, "Re-Imaging the Claim That God and Tonga Are My Inheritance" in *Tonga and the Tongans Heritage and Identity* ed. Elizabeth Wood-Ellem (Aldington Victoria: Elizabeth Wood-Ellem and Tonga Research Association 2007). 47.

⁴²⁵ Tevita Tonga Mohenoa Puloka, "In Tonga a Straight Line Is Only a Curve," *Pacific Journal of Theology* II, no. 35 (2007).

faiva Lea - speeches. Again, the best example is evident in the various compositions of Tongan songs by HM Queen Salote in Wood-Ellem's edited book.⁴²⁶

That view of a Tongan timeframe in horizontal holistic terms of "past-present-future" and Space is oriented by their vertical relationship to God, and horizontal communal multi-dimensional Oralectic-inter-relationships among *kainga*. Everywhere, Tongans exist as people of Oceania, there is this theological dimensional claim of relating to a god in a complex empirical way.

History had been hailed as only the business of the academic elite, the rational philosophers, who posit irrelevant arguments to people under study, and inapplicable ideas that cannot be mingled with the real practical life situation of Oceania.⁴²⁷ It is real colonization. Whatever is written by outsiders about the insiders may influence their lives in a minimal way. But it is quite doubtful that it will shift the insiders from the groundwork of their worldview of reverends to God to communally and pragmatically walking together with the *kainga* in life. Thus, history is us, and ours through our own eyes and lens, and not us through them and theirs as suggested by Niel Gunson on this statement;

History is not even the possession of the people about whom it is written. Indeed, some of the best history is that written about peoples who have long since disappeared from the face of the earth or whose institutions have crumbled into decay. The satisfaction of writing history from an inter-cultural view point is that it can be enriched by the greater mingling of ideas and theoretical approaches.⁴²⁸

(Gunson, 1987).

It follows that such statement is a form of Edward Said as "imposition of Western secular hegemonic" views upon others.⁴²⁹ I have repeatedly referred to this sort of impositions in the course of this thesis writing as 'suppressing', 'marginalizing', and 'footnoting' of the sources of wisdom and philosophies, the framework of history and methods of historiography of the people

⁴²⁶ Wood-Ellem, *Songs & Poems of Queen Salote*.

⁴²⁷ Tertullian, "*De Praescriptione Haereticorum*."

⁴²⁸ Niel Gunson, "Tongan Historiography: Sharmanic views of Time and History". 1st THA conference, 1987, in Phyllis Herda; Jenifer Terrell; Niel Gunson, *Tongan Culture and History*, (Canberra: The Journal of Pacific History, 1996.) 13.

⁴²⁹ Borofsky, "'Post Colonial Politics - a View from Afar (Middle East)-an Interview with Edward Said."

of Oceania.⁴³⁰ As a discipline, it monopolizes the global realities by their rational viewpoint and is guided by an agenda of politicized strategies and questions looking towards a pre-determined answer and conclusion. The prophecy rendered by Harry E. Maude⁴³¹ is worth quoting,

Criticism has been directed of recent years against what has been termed the ethnocentricity of Pacific historians. Probably as a result of their training and the availability of their sources, the majority of historical writers have treated their subject matter as a regional extension of imperial history; a story of power politics in which the people of the islands themselves play a largely passive role.⁴³²

Differently from Gunson, Maude was an outsider but had lived in the Pacific long enough, experienced the practical orientation of the Pacific people's life, worldviews and motivations of their attitudes in cultural logic terms. He further commented,

However, satisfying the results of these studies may be to the European ego they are likely to appear increasingly unconvincing and often irrelevant, to the Pacific islander of tomorrow, to whom Western political domination will seem merely an aspect of a phase in the totality of his historical development. It is unlikely, furthermore, that Polynesian, in particular, will continue to ignore the rich store of vernacular source material written by his own people, nor again that he will share European feelings on the sacrosanct character of documentation as against oral tradition.⁴³³

The more significant point is that, Gunson's statement is a signal that only the scientific-rational historians at the expense of "empirical views" know fully the outside and the inside realities of all (Pacific) people. The statement gives no space to islanders to create and re-create their own social realities from their rich vernacular sources, in an alter-native way.

⁴³⁰ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Past to Remember."

⁴³¹ H.E. Maude is the longest served European subject who began his study of the Pacific people from grassroot level and continuously elevated with that view to institute the first ever Pacific History department at ANU.

⁴³² Maude, *Of Islands and Men: Studies in Pacific History*. (1968), 343.

⁴³³ H.E. Maude, *Of Islands & Men: Studies in Pacific History*, (Melbourne, London, Wellington, New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 343

Again, quoting Taufe'ulungaki who posited the question of alternative to the Colloquium⁴³⁴ and concluded that the failure that the Western education strategy to account to the needs of the Pacific people asked "Is there an alternative?"⁴³⁵ To which she concluded,

There is an urgent need, therefore, to explore alternatives based on other value systems. For it is from values and belief systems that social and cultural groups construct their world, create meanings, develop rules that govern behaviour, and erect the institutions that formalise and transform those abstract worlds into concrete realities...The Colloquium could be the beginning of the construction of such alternatives.⁴³⁶

From a simplistic view, Gunson's statement is a professional way of "silencing" the islanders and their island passive attitudes, values and beliefs and their history. Such statements leave no space for an alternative to complement their Western "power politics" versions of the Pacific people's history. I have already referred to Epeli Hau'ofa, who, from a "constructionist's" point of view, firmly held his belief about social realities stating

One of the more positive aspects of our existence in Oceania is that truth is flexible and negotiable, [perhaps not only in Oceania] despite attempts by some of us to impose, other forms of absolutism.... But cultural constructionists of a certain persuasion have gone beyond the bounds by arrogating to themselves the role of what is true or false in our societies: true history, false history; genuine culture, spurious culture. It is a new hegemony, or perhaps it is the old one in a new guise.⁴³⁷

Hau'ofa also added, "There are no final truths or falsehoods, only interpretations, temporary consensus, and even impositions for a particular purpose". Gunson's statement above is his imposition of a particular purpose and trying to imagine what may be best for the insiders.

Here Hau'ofa depicts the heart of *Tala-Tukufakaholo*, as it developed over time and space. Another Tongan scholar and poet Karlo Mila Schaaf stated it clearly, building on Hau'ofa's statement,

⁴³⁴ A joint venture on *Re-Thinking Pacific Education* was funded by New Zealand, through NZODA, and hosted by the Institute of Education, University of the South Pacific and the Victoria University of Wellington, on 25-27 April, 2001. See their report on Cliff Benson, *Tree of Opportunity: Re-thinking Pacific Education*, (The University of the South Pacific: Institute of Education, 2002).

⁴³⁵ 'Ana Maui Taufe'ulungaki, "Pacific Education on the cross roads: are there alternatives?" in Cliff Benson, *Tree of Opportunity: Re-thinking Pacific Education*, (The University of the South Pacific: Institute of Education, 2002), 5-21.

⁴³⁶ Taufe'ulungaki, "Pacific Education at the Crossroads: Are There Alternatives?." (2002), 5.

⁴³⁷ Epeli Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember", in Robert Borofsky (ed.), *Remembrance of pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 454.

But there is something much worse than silence. And this is something 'Epeli understood very well. That is someone else imagining you 'for you'. Someone else imposing their vision of the worlds over everything you do. Someone else telling your stories and dreaming words coming out of our mouths. Someone else writing us, dreaming us, small, insignificant, backwards, native, simple, loud, poor, history-less, savage. Someone else dreaming us with their own limited repertoire of metaphors, stereotypes, grass skirts, and what Shigeyuki Kihara so appropriately encapsulated in the word: "ooga booga".

Since the arrival of the Western visitors on our shores, the European world of power struggle was imposed upon our Pacific world. Guided by the outsider's foreign agenda of exploitation, colonizing and foreign approaches of imagining others, they documented biased records and provided one sided reports for their own purposes. The missionaries wrote out our history, imagining and dreamt us, speculated us, marginalizing our ways of life as being barbaric, savage, and heathen, and put "words" about us, while we maintained our quiet, pragmatic, empirical ways of maintaining life in order to sustain the world we lived in. Their ways of viewing realities, society and life tend to confuse our people more and more, even up to the present era.

Thus, a response is worth offering to argue from that dis-advantaged point of those whom, in the wider world, Paulo Freire (1970) named as the "oppressed"⁴³⁸ or that which Lind T. Smith (1999), from her Maori perspective called the "colonized", "marginalized"⁴³⁹, and, Hau'ofa (2000) called the "mis-represented"⁴⁴⁰ – to offer an "islander view from below"⁴⁴¹ in response to Gunson's statement above. It takes not only from "down under" a *kainangaefonua* – close to earth, but also from the islander's "insider" perspective, to offer a practical-based religious (if not biblical) holistic view of Historio-graphy as an alter-native to complement the outsider's versions of us; our "colonized minds" and oral values of life. It calls for a paradigm shift of our people's perceptions of social realities, as Vaka'uta suggested an "alter-native" as to *alter* the *native's* views from accounting to the colonizers and donors to account to the needs of the colonized islanders.⁴⁴² This work asks for a shift of viewpoint of the insiders – from accounting to the dominant, manipulative and controlled regime and their versions of our own history to present "pedagogy of the colonized minds" in terms of historiography. Only in that way can a complement be made with the outsider's

⁴³⁸ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum Publishing Company, 1997).

⁴³⁹ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*.

⁴⁴⁰ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Past to Remember."

⁴⁴¹ A Subaltern group view.

⁴⁴² Vaka'uta, "Talanga: A Tongan Mode of Interpretation."

versions of our history as argued in this thesis. It is a call to give us space to tell our side of the story through our own lens.

The following pages centrally focus on the accounts of *Ha'a Tu'i 'o Tonga* and their *kainga* as it evolved from the estimated beginning of the *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga* 'Aho'eitu dated about 950AD., to the present *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou*. In short, I give this development of *Ha'a Tu'i* as a case study to present my version of the skilful grafting of *toto'i 'eiki* – sacred blood conjoined in various dynastic lineages by way of *nonofo* – cohabitation and later marriage to form the grafted four-partite *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga* to date:

6.5. The Case Study One - HA'A TU'I 'O TONGA: as 'Cultural Logical way of art and crafting of *toto'i 'eiki* – sacred blood in persons; realized in the four-partite *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga* lineages in the Art and Crafting Era of Tonga history.

The *Fa'a'i Pou Tapu 'o Tonga* – in *Heliaki* lens this means the four-partite *Ha'a Tu'i* of *Tonga*. Since, cohabitation was the way used by *Ilabea Va'e 'o Popua* to embrace *Tangaloa 'Eitumatubu'a* to produce 'Aho'eitu – the first *Tu'i 'o Tonga*, cohabitation, in like manner, is used to analyse how the *Ha'a Tu'i* of *Tonga* developed over the past 10 centuries to give 78 *Tu'i* in a four partite *Ha'a Tu'i 'o Tonga*. Cohabitations – *Fanongonongo Tokoto* will be viewed here as means of developments and evidences to the past artistic way of crafting for re-generations and pro-creations. *Nonofo* cohabitations were practical ways of merging blood lines into lineages. Thus, is marriage in the modern era. I view *Fanongonongo Tokoto* as a way of consensual passing on of life quality between unlike sexes as historio-art-and-crafting terms of human personal interactions, physical inter-connections and blood inter-relating, encapsulating the passing on of *Tala* of life into the next generation through a conceived foetus/progeny. The produced generations and lineages of *Ha'a Tu'i* provided evidences as fruits of the cohabitation practices.

Facts for this case study are drawn from *Tala-Tukufakaholo* of the *Ha'a Tu'i* and the associated oral traditions, genealogies, and names and marks on residential places, monuments and landscapes as sources listed in earlier chapters with reference to Campbell's work of *Ha'a Tu'i 'o Tonga*.⁴⁴³ Burial tombs, names and marks of residential places of the *Ha'a Tu'i* survived to date. From these sources, I have isolated the following, adding on my own observation with the fourth-lineage of what I have termed as *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou* – the *graffiti* of the *Moheofo* practice.

⁴⁴³ Campbell, *Classical Tongan Kingship*. (1989).

1st. Ha'a Tu'i Tonga – 'Aho'eitu – Laufileitonga (950-1865 AD) = 39 Tu'i Tonga.

2nd. Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua – Mo'ungamotu'a – Mulikiha'amea (1450-1799 AD) = 18 Tu'i Takalaua (omission and inclusion of Toafunake and Mulikiha'amea).

3rd. Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu – Gata – Josiah Aleamotu'a Tupou (1600-1845) = 18 Tu'i Kanokupolu.

4th. Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou – Taufa'ahau Tupou I – Tupou VI = 6th Tu'i Tonga Tupou VI.⁴⁴⁴ (1845-?)

6.6. *Tala-Tukufakaholo* -The original Grafting by Tangaloa and 'Ilaheva Va'epopua

The initial cohabitation of Tangaloa 'Eitumabu'a and 'Ilaheva saw the known event of art and crafting history. Such way had 'Ilaheva used to accommodate 'Eitumatubu'a was Fanongonongo Tokoto – is a consensual passing on of realities to the next generation, not only through Ha'a Tu'i but in all cohabitations where an off spring is produced. Regeneration is secured and the way of re-constructing and re-producing another generation through cohabitation, in my view, is a historical chapter of Tu'i Tonga lineage in the context of the "Tangaloa myth" and "Tapu culture". This art and crafting of history, also motivated the view of the Tongan people on their world (worldview). I refer to HM Queen Salote and her consideration of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* as the way of passing on history from one generation to the next in contrast to the British historians Collingwood and Carr's attempt to dis-entangle the "Idea of History" in the context of the "Victorian myth",⁴⁴⁵ in response to the question of 'What is history?'. The 19th century British Methodist missionary James Egan Moulton engaged in *Tala-Tukufakaholo* as documented Tonga's remembered past testifying,

That most of his information was taken down from the lips of the 'Last of the Bards', a once heathen chief called Tongavalevale, who was the repository of their folklore and ballads.⁴⁴⁶

In view of Moulton's statement above, one can imagine how many generations before Tongavalevale engaged in the same processes of regenerations thus gave the recollected oral

⁴⁴⁴ From *Tala-Tukufakaholo* I have formulated the above Four-partite Tongan Tu'i lineages as the historiographical development of the Tongan *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga* from its known remembered pasts. See a comparative lists of the tripartite lineages; Ha'a Tu'i Tonga; Tu'i Takalaua; and Tu'i Kanokupolu in *ibid.*42.

⁴⁴⁵ See a version of Victoria myth in "Victoria." *Encyclopedia Mythica* from Encyclopedia Mythica Online. <<http://www.pantheon.org/articles/v/victoria.html>> (Accessed 10 July, 2014).

⁴⁴⁶ James Egan Moulton, notes 5, of "Tongans", in James Hastings, (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1921), 380.

depository of genealogies – and store housing the past. The information Moulton documented from Tongavalevale speaks for its indigenous and ancient nature. I have argued in earlier chapters that *Tala-ʻotua* is the most influential source of all that derived of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* oral historiography.

Tala-ʻotua was the source as Moulton recorded that, there were older gods who were known as “Tama-boʻuli-ala-mafoa (‘Son-of-the-Darkness-that-can-have-a-dawn)’”; “Eitu-matubuʻa (‘Eitu-of-the-olden-time)’”; and “Hikuleʻo (the echo)”. The first god, according to some accounts was “the original deity”, while Eitu-matubuʻa was known as the “father of the Tongan people”. Hikuleʻo was the fertility god who controlled the earth and the purgatory world of the spirits named Pulotu. From the framework of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* there is, in my view, the nature of an older god being animated in Eitumatubuʻa, whose *Tala* and *Hikuleʻo* - whose voice is echoed and their spirits dwelt in the spiritual world. Thus, the conception of the material and spiritual dimension of life was already with the old Tongan god systems and perhaps, as well the purpose of life was for that spirit to be incarnated, and, animated in physical world. Thus, from the foregone discussions and analysis, Tongan theology can be said to be animistic and incarnational in nature.

Moulton also recorded that “in common with other Parts of Polynesia” Tongans’ great gods were Tangaloa and Maui. There were three of the Tangaloa gods namely: Tangaloa Eiki – Elder; Tangaloa Tufunga – Artificer; and Tangaloa Atulongolongo - Sender forth of sound. Tangaloa took control of the langi – heavens. The Maui persons consisted of: *Maui Motuʻa* (‘Old Maui’ or ‘Maui the Father’), *Maui Loa* (‘Maui the Tall’), *Maui Buku* (Maui the Short), and *Maui Atalanga* (Maui the Vigorous Planter), who had a son called *Maui Kijikiji* (in another culture as Maui Tikitiki). This category of gods took control of the *Lolofonua*-under-world. Hikuleʻo was the governor of the *fonua*-land and *Pulotu* - Tongan paradise which was locate at the Western horizon.

But from the older god Eitumatubuʻa animated as Tangaloa Eitumatubuʻa (believed to be Tangaloa Eiki), stepped upon the land of Tonga as a sky-god around 10th century; was accommodated by *Tlahava*, whom as according to *Veʻehala* and *Fannua*, was the daughter of Seketua of Niuatoputapu island⁴⁴⁷ produced their first son Ahoʻeitu the first Tuʻi Tonga. From Ahoʻeitu, the belief in the scion (*Sikaiona-huli tapu*)⁴⁴⁸ of the god-human person associated the grafting of the first line of Haʻa Tuʻi Tonga from Ahoʻeitu. From this point, onward, Haʻa Tuʻi Tonga lineage

⁴⁴⁷ Noel Rutherford, by Veʻehala and Tupou Posesi Fannua, “Oral Tradition and Prehistory,” in Noel Rutherford, (ed.), *Friendly Islands: A History of Tonga*, 1977), 27.

⁴⁴⁸ Refers to in Isaiah 11.1-16, and the prophecy is referred to Matthew 2.23.

was successively regenerated through cohabitations and inter-marriages to see 39 Tu'i Tonga to the last Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga who died in 1865, 39 Tu'i in all.

It is worth noting at this point there were three assassinations recorded in *Tala-Tukufakaholo*, and documented by some historians. The first was the assassination of the 19th Tu'i Tonga Havea I but the assassin was not known. It is suspected to have been held by a Fijian. No Tongan whatsoever, would have enough courage to assassinate their own god who was in place, or risk one's life to touch the Tu'i in any way. The second was the assassination of the 22nd Tu'i Tonga Havea II by Tuluvota of Fiji. The fisherman of the Tu'i Tonga named *Lufe*, offered his own body to be cut in half and had his lower body made whole the body of the dead Tu'i Tonga Havea II before the corpse was formally returned to the *Fonua Loto* – the graveyard at burial. Such is the spirit of serving and attitude of honouring by Tongans to their Tu'i. They would give their life to appease the gods and save the life of their Tu'i. The third assassination was that of the 23rd Tu'i Tonga Takalaua by the two assassins from 'Uvea; Tamasia and Malofafa at the island of Mata'aho. The Tu'i's children Kau'ulufonua, Mo'ungamotu'a, Latutoevave and Lotau'ai gathered by Va'elaveamata, the wife of Takalaua to search the Pacific for the assassins for a revenge. It happened and the assassins were killed before the sons returned to Tonga through Tefisi Vava'u. There, on the beach now named *Fufulu'anga 'akan* – 'washing of the killing harpoon' placed the harpoon he used to kill the two assassins. Kau'ulufonua afterwards, instituted the second lineage - under the name of their deceased father Takalaua – The Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua.

It is suspected that assassinations occurred because the outer islands community have been so oppressed by serving their annual tributes to the Tu'i Tonga in the *katoanga Inasi*. At times, it was a biennial Tributes occasion when there was drought throughout the year. It was an obligation for all islanders that were under the Tongan empire.⁴⁴⁹ If there were any conflicts between lineages, it was caused by the high competitions among the lineages during the *Feinga Kotone* – a sort of beauty contest to have their lady as a *Ma'itaki* for the Tu'i Tonga as according to Lord Tu'i 'Afitu. He stated; *na'e fu'u tokolahi pe kakai fefine na'e fe'au'aubi ki ai e ngaahi ha'a 'i be Katoanga Feinga Kotone ke fakabuli pea fakabako ai e Toto'i 'eiki.*⁴⁵⁰ There were too many ladies whom were contesting at the *Feinga Kotone* festival⁴⁵¹ were ladies were contested to be picked as *Mohefo* to the Tu'i Tonga to

⁴⁴⁹ See a discussion of Tongan empire in Mahina, "The Tongan Traditional History *Tala-E-Fonua*: A Vernacular Ecology-Centred Historico-Cultural Concept." (1992).

⁴⁵⁰ Lord Tu'i 'Afitu, Talanoa, Makave, Vava'u, July, 2008.

⁴⁵¹ Ladies were paraded in line before the Tu'i Tonga and the selection was a thorough inspection of beauty and virginity by the Tu'i Tonga himself before one is selected as a *Ma'itaki* – principal wife. This aspect of

produce a progeny. This way the sacred blood of the Tu'i would be ensnared unto that lineage. This is what I see as "Cultural Logic" in the context of "Tongan cultural Politics", in contrast to "Power Politics." Virtuously, scheme of things was done according to its logicity in Culture and not power.

As did, 'Ilaheva, in cohabitation to accommodating 'Eitumatubu'a (950AD), so as the latter engaged in *Fanongonongo Tokoto* way – offering one's lady of the Ha'a Takalaua to the Tu'i Tonga for a progeny. An off spring from the Tu'i Tonga was a link in blood that elevated such lineage in status. This way was adopted successively by Ha'a Takalaua in offering to the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga, known as *Ma'itaki*. Until in recent centuries, the practice of *Mohefo* was adopted as the way of re-creating another lineage. Although ensnaring of *toto'i 'eiki* ensured power upon a lower line, it was for recognition in social hierarchy, but not by warfare or otherwise. Things went valued smoothly in the logic of cultural interplay of *feveitapai*, *of faka'aki'akimui*, *faka'apa'apa*, *ta'efieauna* and *'ofa onogofua* inter-relationships.

The human arts and crafting of the intricacies of Ha'a Tu'i of Tonga lineages, with the chiefly lineage of Fiji and Samoa as Salesa in his "The Pacific in indigenous Time," stated,

Such lineages are mere tips to larger indigenous contours. Indigenous Pacific ways, histories, languages stand not in opposition to other great forces at work in the present, - post colonialism, development, globalization, commercialization, - but are articulate with them, as well as with a deep and resonant past.⁴⁵²

Tala-Tukufakabolo are evident in the merged blood lines in the surviving legacy of the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga. Polynesian (Pacific) societies had their own indigenous contours of merging blood lines in indigenous times. I have argued in this thesis, a Tongan indigenous contour of Ha'a Tu'i formation, and a continuation from Campbell's "tripartite kingships",⁴⁵³ to the "quadri-partite Ha'a Tu'i Tonga" lineages. The original Ha'a Tu'i Tonga was further consolidated by an inclusion of a chiefly line of Fiji through *Tu'i Tonga Tele'a's* daughter *Sinaitakalailangileka* who cohabited with *Tapu'osi* of Vacivaci, Lau group.⁴⁵⁴ That connection consolidated further the *Ha'a Tui Takalaua* lineage and

Tongan tradition signified the virginity of ladies before they got married. Informant: Viliami Muti Taumoepeau, Talanoa, Nuku'alofa, 1998.

⁴⁵² Salesa, "The Pacific in Indigenous Time." (2014), 31.

⁴⁵³ Campbell, *Classical Tongan Kingship*.

⁴⁵⁴ A.C Reid, *Tovata I & Ii*(Suva: Oceania Printers Ltd, 1990). 5.

the institution of the *Tamaha* – sacred child status to become the highest Tapu person of Tongan society. Burley witnessed to the presence of this sacred child in Tungua island who lived in sacred place and was the intersection of “Myth, Narrative, Genealogy and Landscape”.⁴⁵⁵ Thus human art and crafting was a human exercise of crafting of blood lines (genealogy) and inter-mingling of knowledge and past wisdoms passed on from the past divine origin.⁴⁵⁶

Salesa (on above) reminded us Pacificans that over this era of “post colonialism development, globalization, and commercialization”, we can articulate and associate this knowledge. Thus, is my claim here, if we could with *Tala-Tukufakaholo* then, it is a move to holistically encompass the insider and insider recollections to see through and envision a glimpse of ‘Universal history’ for the Pacific if not the global world. The surviving practice-based ‘form of indigenous thought’ and indigenous ‘way of living’ will see a space for us in the global knowledge.

6.7. The Crafting of indigenous practice and the modern scientific method:

The new epoch of art and crafting facts of the past was seen in the documentation of facts about the *Ha’a Tu’i Tonga* dynastic development by Westerners. It began with informants known as Source (a) *Tongavalevale*, by the French priest Father Francis Xavier. He documented what is known as the Catholic Mission list of Ha’a Tu’i Tonga which Rutherford, Ve’ehala and Fanua used in Rutherford’s *Friendly Island: A History of Tonga*.⁴⁵⁷ Likewise, the manuscript provided by the informant known as Source (b) Anthony ‘Uhatafe is of Mu’a, Tongatapu, the place where the Tu’i Tonga tradition and protocol was believed and deeply lived and also ended in the death of the last *Tu’i Tonga Laufilitonga* in 1865.

J.E. Moulton in Source (d) cited in his article *Tongan*⁴⁵⁸ that his list was a reproduction of *Tongavalevale* list, who is the informant in Source (a). Furthermore, for Sources (c) of King George Tupou II and Source (f) of Queen Salote’s partial genealogical records by *Tamaha ‘Amelia* in 1844, all support the Popua tradition of the actual beginning of the historical Tu’i Tonga dynasty of *Nonofo ‘a Kainga*.⁴⁵⁹ Except for one which is Source (e) of Shirley Baker by King George Tupou I

⁴⁵⁵ Burley, "Sacred Child and Sacred Place: On the Intersection of Myth, Narrative, Genealogy and Landscape for the Study of Dynastic Tongan History."

⁴⁵⁶ Campbell, *Classical Tongan Kingship*. (1989), 31.

⁴⁵⁷ Noel Rutherford, Ve'ehala, and Tupou Posesi Fanua, "Oral Tradition and Prehistory," in *Friendly Islands: A History of Tonga*, ed. Noel Rutherford (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1977).

⁴⁵⁸ Moulton, "Tongans." in *Encyclopedia of Religions and Ethics*, (1921).

⁴⁵⁹ The lists of Tu’i Tonga known as Catholics Lists and The Rev’d S.W. Baker’s Lists renders two differently, with inclusion of extra 9 names by Baker’s lists gods *Kohai* and *Koau* together with 7 extra names suggested by

which includes the Tu'i Tonga worms, and clearly supports the Ata island tradition rather than Popua. The provided list of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga is a result of synchronizing the above sources with the memorized *Tala-Tukufakaholo*.

6.8. The List of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga and places of their residences. (950-1865AD.)

1. **'Aho'eitu 950AD.** lived at Ha'amonga, Siumafua'uta - Popua with Langi Fangaloto..
2. **Lolofakangalo** lived atTolua.
3. **Fanga'one'one**Tolua.
4. **Lihau**.....Tolua.
5. **Kofutu**.....Tolua.
6. **Kalao**.....Tolua.
7. **Ma'uhau**.....Tolua No.2-7 all buried at Langi Mala'e'atuli, Pelehake. (Tu'i-Ono)
8. **'Apuanea**Halaika, Lavengatonga.
9. **'Afulunga**Pakuku, Haveluliku.
10. **Momo**.....Heketa, Niutoua, married Nua, daughter of Lo'au Tuputoka.
11. **Tu'itatui** at about 1200 AD. The first Tu'i Tonga Lo'au, whose mother was Nua, the daughter of Lo'au Tuputoka of Ha'amea. Lived at Heketa, Niutoua and built the Ha'amonga, and two Langi Heketa and Langi Mo'ungalafa at his residence, but he seduced his own sister Latutama on top of the Ha'amonga monument. He was exiled and spent the rest of his life in 'Eua. His corpse was said to be later brought by his half-brother *Fasi'apule* and buried at Malapo/'Uiha.
12. **Talatama** son of Tu'itatui lived at Nukuleka and died childless hence installed the piece of wood *Nui ko e Tamatou* to become his son so that it would be taken as the father of his brother *Talaiha'apepe* who could succeed him as Tu'i Tonga. (another Tongan cultural politic).
13. **Tu'i Tonga Nui ko e Tamatou** Tu'i Tonga piece of Wood, buried at Langi Tamatou, Nukuleka.
14. **Talaiha'apepe** son of Tamatou who lived at Mu'a.
15. **Talakaifaiki**Samoans protested to the Tu'i and his imperial orders were refused by Samoans.
16. **Talafapite**lived at Talasiu, Lapaha.
17. **Tu'i Tonga Maakatoe**Ahofakasiu, Lapaha.
18. **Tu'i Tonga Puipui**Ahofakasiu, Lapaha.
19. **Havea I** lived at Mu'a died at Vai ko Toloona. It is said that he was assassinated by a Fijian.
20. **Tatafu'eikimeimu'a** lived at Mu'a, who lost a competition to the Fijian Ngana and lost his wife Va'e to the Fijian, however, already pregnant. The baby was born and Tatafu'eikimeimu'a named him Ngana 'Eiki who was the first Malupo. Ngana cohabit with Va'e and gave birth to another son, and Tatafu'eikimeimu'a named him Ngana Tatafu, after his name, he became the first Havea Tu'i Ha'angana. These two sons originated the Fale Fisi whom the elder became Malupo of 'Uiha and younger became Havea Tu'i Ha'angana of Ha'ano. Malupo married Sina of Samoa whom gave her Bonito fish ('atu) as her gift to Ngana tatafu.-
21. **Lomi'aetupu'a** lived at Mu'a.....
22. **Havea II** lived at Mu'a, assassinated by Tuluvota (Fijian).
23. **Takalaua** about 1450AD. Lived at Mata'aho with Va'elaveamata – the pigeon head lady from 'Ata. Assassinated by the Uveans Tamasia and Malofafa, and revenged by Kau'ulufonua.
24. **Kau'ulufonua I (Fekai)** lived at Kauvai facing Mo'ungatapu island. Returned from revenging the assassins in Uvea to install his brother Mo'ungamotu'a as the first Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua.
25. **Vakafuhu** said to live in Samoa.
26. **Puipufatu** said to have lived in Samoa.

different informants. See Rutherford, Ve'ehala, and Fanua, "Oral Tradition and Prehistory." Noel Rutherford, Ve'ehala and Tupou Posesi Fanua, "Oral Tradition and Prehistory," in Noel Rutherford, (ed.) *Tongan Society: A History of Tonga*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1977), 29.

27. **Kau'ulufonua II** lived in Samoa.
28. **Tapu'osi** lived in Tonga.
29. **'Uluakimata I (Tele'a)** lived in Ma'ananga, Fualu with three wives namely; Nansiha'ele, Talafaiva and Mata'ukipa. Only Mata'ukipa, the daughter of Kau'ufonuahuo was with children namely: Fakafehi and Sinaitakalailangileka.
30. **Fatafehi** lived at Lapaha. The son built Langi Paepae o Telea as memoir of his Father Tele'a who died and buried in Samoa.
31. **Kau'ulufonua III Tu'i Tonga**
32. **'Uluakimata II**
33. **Tu'i Pulotu 'I Langi Tu'ofefafa.** Ended the last Ma'itaki practice with Halaevalu daughter of
34. **Fakana'ana'a** – began the first Mohefo with Tongotea (**Ve'ehala**)⁴⁶⁰
/Tu'utangahunuhunu, daughter of Mataeleha'amea (Moulton).⁴⁶¹
35. **Tu'i Pulotu II Mohefo with Laumanukilupe.**
36. **Tu'i Tonga Pau** Mohefo with Tupoumohefo lived at Fekitetele, Mata, Vava'u.
37. **Ma'ulupekotofa** ruled when onslaught of the Port au Prince ship at the port of Lifuka, Ha'apai in 1806. He also died 1806.
38. **Fuanunuiava** Mohefo with Tupouveiongo lived at Fekitetele, Mataika, Vava'u, died and buried at Fekitetele in 1810.
39. **Laufilitonga** lived at Velata, in Lifuka, Ha'apai but later returned and lived at Fonuamotu, Lapaha, until he died in 1865.

It is evident that Gifford's compiled list begins correctly with *Tu'i Tonga 'Aho'eitu* which subscribes to the Popua tradition and not the 'Ata tradition. (Tu'i Tonga begot from the offspring of the worms,⁴⁶² or rather the earlier creation story of "seaweed and slime story").⁴⁶³

Thus, one may conclude that the Tongan social unit of *nonofo 'a Kainga* was not a new invention by later migrants to Tonga, (as some claimed for Lo'au) nor a Western importation, (as claimed by some historians). Rather it was an original form of civilization that came with the Tangaloa migrants to settle in this island of Tonga. From Tangaloa's offspring 'Aho'eitu emanated the *Tu'i Tonga* which I argue as the Tongan worldview. From this Tu'i Tonga formation emanated also the

⁴⁶⁰ Ve'ehala and Tupou Posesi Fanua, *ibid.* (1977), 30

⁴⁶¹ Moulton, "Notes on Tongan History and Tongan Legends."

⁴⁶² There is also another tradition from Ata island which includes the myth of "seaweed and slime clung together and were carried away by the sea and washed up on the island of Totai in Bulotu. By and by, there grew up between them a large metallic stone called Touiaofutuna." This stone shook and split thereby sprung up a male and female twin to have become the beginning of Tongan people for their names were Biki (male) and Kele (female) See J.E. Moulton, "Tongan," in James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, (Edinburgh: T&T. Clark, & New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), 379.

⁴⁶³ I am opted to believe those stories of the 'slime moulds', the 'seaweeds', and 'worm' are creation stories carried by Tongan migrants to Tonga from the land they came from to settle in Tonga, most probably from southeast Asia, Africa, and far beyond.

Tapu culture which had become the foundation of the Tongan national curriculum of practices and social operations. That policy was further enhanced by numerous encounters with the chiefly lineages and persons with status from Tonga's neighbor islands of Fiji and Samoa.

6.9. Social Ethos of *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga: of Kauhala'uta domain.*

Essentially, the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga associated its own codes of ethics. *Tala 'o Kauhala'uta* as outlined by Makalangahiva of Lapaha stated that there were five ways of expressing Highest virtue of Tongan *Faka'apa'apa* In Kauhala'uta protocol. I take these facts as Tongan curriculum for informal teaching life skills. They are:

1. ***Moihu 'a e Tonga*** - sacrificing the whole person's life. Best example of this *faka'apa'apa* was the voluntary live burial of persons who volunteer to be buried together with a dead corpse of Tu'i Tonga or his sister. This tradition is here believed to be derived from the Middle Eastern customs. Evidence of practice was witnessed by the author on one of the Langi of Tamaha in Lapaha, in 1970's when one of the chiefs of Kauhala'uta was buried. The excessive amounts of bones laid on the steps down to the grave indicate a possibility this practice was held in the past days. Another story of this kind was the sacrifice paid by Lufe to *Tu'i Tonga Havea* when his half dead body was found drifting at sea. This brutal assassination was known to have carried by a Fijian named Tuluvota. Lufe, the net maker and fisherman of the Tu'i Tonga himself gave his body to be cut in half to use the lower half of his body make whole the body of the Tu'i Tonga for his burial at Mata'aho Island. This event gave the inherited name of the family in Folaha now known as *Tupou Hake leva* – meaning the lower part of Lufe made whole the *Tu'i Tonga Havea's* corpse before his body was buried. The whole life was given as sacrificed for the Tu'i Tonga in honor, for he was god in place. Such sacrifice points to some custom passed down from the ancient past. *Moihu 'a e Tonga* is exemplified in Lufe who offered his body to be cut up to make the Tu'i Tonga Havea II body whole for burial. This family in Folaha now inherit the title, *Tupouhakeleva* – a memoir of their great grandfather Lufe's sacrifice for Tu'i Tonga Havea II.
2. ***Tuhuku /Kau'inima*** – placing the second least finger on *Tokomatupa* stone and cut on the second joint of the finger to show commitment and respect to the Tu'i. Missionaries and explorers witnessed the practice of this custom of respect with great pain.

3. ***Hu Lou Ifi*** – The couple ‘Ala and Fonua had a *ifi* tree beside their cave and on begging the pardon for their wrong doing, they wore a *sisi* of *lou ifi* - to the occasion to show remorse, and beg reconciliation. One who is practicing this ritual is seeking forgiveness of someone.
4. ***Ta’ovala*** – the sail mats/canvas of the *kalia* is torn apart and worn as sign of respect to the *fonua* land which believed to be their mother. This form of respect was adopted at funerals for show of sympathy – only because at deaths, the fonua (mother) was also crying in tears and welcome the dead as one of her own home (burial).
5. ***Fuatau*** – first fruits of the garden, and basket of food is presented to the Tu’i Tonga as the fertility god and a way of begging for blessing of the land.⁴⁶⁴

Of these five cardinal virtues of Kauhala’uta numbers 1 and 2 are no longer practised. The others are transformed by Christian teachings and are conducted accordingly for such purposes.

6.10. **Ha’a Tu’i Takalaua: grafted by Mo’ungamotu’a followed by a Fijian chiefly line from Ngana – Mo’ungamotu’a – Mulikiha’amea = 18 in all.**

The actual institution of Ha’a Tu’i Takalaua began from the death of the 23rd Tu’i Tonga Takalaua, whose wife was Va’elaveamata. This Tu’i Tonga Takalaua was assassinated by Tamasia and Malofafa from ‘Uvea islands. The cause of his assassination is alleged to be for his cruelty and a response to the oppressive nature of tributes on Katoanga ‘Inasi to the Tu’i Tonga as the head of Tongan empire. Takalaua’s children are listed in Figure 6.1. in Appendices.⁴⁶⁵ Takalaua’s eldest son Kau’ulufonua (Fekai) and his younger brothers sought and killed the assassins at the island of ‘Uvea. On his return, he instituted this second lineage of Tu’i by installing his brother Mo’ungamotu’a as the first Tu’i Ha’a Takalaua – naming the line after his father. After the institution of the *Ha’a Tu’i Takalaua* Kau’ulufonua Fekai appointed his other brothers as governors to outer islands including, ‘Uvea, Niua, Vava’u, Ha’apai and ‘Eua. (see the list on appendix).

This lineage of Tu’i Ha’a Takalaua is evidence of the further grafting of blood lines. The four divisions of Kauhala’uta-the Upper lineage in Lapaha is known as the *Vabenga e Fa o Kauhala’uta*-The Four divisions of Kauhala’uta:

1. *Falefakanoo*.
2. *FalePulemalo*.

⁴⁶⁴ Makalangahiva “Talanoa” 2010.

⁴⁶⁵ I borrowed this list from online. Note I have edited some names with reference to Campbell’s list. Source: <http://www.royalark.net/Tonga/tuitong.htm> (accessed

3. *Faletuipapai*
4. *Taubakeleva/Lolo'amannu.*



(*Ha'amonga 'a Maui*: is the centre piece of *Kauhala'uta* tradition and legacy that is worth inherited as reminiscence of Tonga indigenous past. Photo used with permission from Photographer Mr Samiuela Uasi, Tangaroa College Tonga PD trip, 2009).

The *Kauhala'uta* Kava protocol was known as the *Fulitaunga* – the hangar is facing the *Olovaha* with the three ropes hanging from the hangar and stretched out on the field to three recognizable positions of the '*Olovaha*, the *Matapule FakaTanala* and the *Matapule Fakatanhala* respectively. These positions seated three important subjects with their significant role in the whole navigation of the government. The positions were adopted from ropes are called the three *Pili* – namely: 1. The *Pili e Olovaha*. 2. *Pili e Tanala*. 3. *Pili e Tanhala* respectively. They all have their own functions in the whole Kava protocol.

At the time of the 6th Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua Mo'ungatonga, who married the Samoan Tohu'ia he ordered his children Vaoloa, Halakitau'a and Ngata to take the Kava to Hihifo. Hence, the Kava was from then on prepared in the *Milolua fakamuifonua* – the Samoan protocol of preparing Kava.

6.11. **From the list of Tamaha 'Amelia,**⁴⁶⁶ the following list of the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua (THT) is as quoted,

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid. 36.

1. Mo'ungamotu'a, son of Takalaua, lived at *Kaupalalalo*, at Fonuamotu, near Lo'a'amanu (Lolo'aamanu).
2. Taneki[ngao]tonga,⁴⁶⁷ son of Mo'ungamotu'a
3. Vaeamatoka, son of Tanekitonga
4. Siulangapo son of Vaeamatoka
5. Vakalahimohe'uli, son of Siulangapo
6. Mo'ungatonga son of Vakalahimohe'uli lived with Tohu'ia, the Samoan lady at Fonuamotu and at times moved and lived at Neiafu, in Kanokupolu in Hihifo.
7. Fotofili son of Mo'ungatonga lived in Niuafo'ou.
8. Vaea son of Fotofili
9. Moeakiola, son of Vaea
10. Tatafu son of Moeakiola
11. Kafoa son of Vaea
12. Tu'ionukulava, son of Kafoa
13. Silivakaifanga, son of Tu'ionukulava
14. Fuatakifolaha, son of Tangakitaulupekifolaha
15. Maealiuaki, son of Ma'afuoTu'itonga
16. Toafunake died young in 1797
17. Mulikiha'amea, son of Maealiuaki⁴⁶⁸

Note: a shift in No.10 where a son of Vaea the eighth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was installed, thus the inheritance of the title was from then onward continued with the descendants of Vaea and not of the eldest son of Tatafu the title holder. The last title holder Mulikiha'amea was killed in 1799 during the battle of the *Tau he toafa* – war of the Sea Flats. The attempt by Tongatapu and Hihifo to revenge the assassination of Tuku'aho by the Ha'a Ngata Tupu; Finau 'Ulukalala Feletoa and Tupouniua with the supports of the *Tau Tabi* – northern islands warriors.

6.12. The Ha'a Fale Fisi: The Fijian house within Tongan hegemony.

The human grafting continued in this art and craft era. *Tala-Tukufakabolo* holds 20th Tu'i Tonga *Tatafu'eikimeimu'a*, invited a Fijian named Ngana for the sports competition of *Sika 'Ulutoa* – throwing *Sika* javelin. Before the competition began, Tu'i Tonga offered the Fijian a choice to make if he wins the competition.⁴⁶⁹ After the competition to which the Fijian Ngana won, he chose to take the Tu'i Tonga's wife named *Va'e*. But by then, Va'e had already been impregnated by the

⁴⁶⁷ I enlisted Toafunake on No. 16 as in Campbell's list. In Campbell's list the names for numbers 2. Tanekinga'otonga. 3. Va'ematoka. 6. Mo'unga-'o-Tonga. 11. Kafoamotalau. 12. Tuionukulave and between 14 and 15 slotted in Tupoulahi (not numbered), and 16. Toafunake, respectively. See Campbell, *Classical Tongan Kingship*. (1989), 36.

⁴⁶⁸ Rutherford, Ve'ehala, and Fanua, "Oral Tradition and Prehistory." (1977), 35-6.

⁴⁶⁹ This story is documented by Moulton from informants, but misinterpreted – recorded Tu'itatui, instead of Tatafu'eikimeimu'a. Checking this documented oral story with the orally remembered past, it is evident that Tu'itatui was Tu'i of the 12th century. From Ian Campbell's recorded oral stories, 20th Tui Tonga Tatafu'eikimeimu'a was the beginning of the grafting processes of the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga and the Fijian chiefly lines. Campbell, (1989) 32.

Tu'i Tonga. Hence and then, Tu'i Tonga advised the Fijian Ngana that the carrying baby in his wife's womb is his, so he must wait until *Va'e* give birth to his son, and he can afterward have her as his wife. The baby was born and was named by *Tatafu'eikimeimu'a* as *Ngana 'Eiki*, (part of his father's name). This *Ngana 'Eiki* became the first *Malupo* the chief of 'Uiha island in Ha'apai.

Then, afterwards *Va'e* became the wife of the Fijian *Gana* and their baby son was named *Ngana Tatafu*. This *Ngana Tatafu* boy became the first *Havea Tu'i Ha'angana* of the island of *Ha'ano, Ha'apai*. These two chiefly offices of the Tongan hierarchy, *Malupo* and *Havea Tu'i Ha'angana* personify the First Fale Fisi – House of Fijian chiefs in Tongan hegemony. On the *Fakatapu o Pangai* – an acknowledgement of Ha'a in Pangai on Kava-political forum these two chiefs are revered as "*Tapu mo e Ongo Ha'angana*"- meaning special reverence is to be observed of *Havea Tu'i Ha'angana* and *Malupo*. A special reverence is observed to the investment of the Fijian chiefly blood in the *Ha'a Takalana* lineage. Thus, is an actual human grafting of another chiefly lineage from Fiji to the *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga*.⁴⁷⁰

This blood connection by human grafting was further consolidated through the wedding of *Sinaitakala'ilangileka*, the daughter of the 29th Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata Tele'a, to the Fijian Tapu'osi, from Vacivaci, in the 16th century - creating the second Fale Fisi. The Scottish and the last European to hold "the post of Secretary for Fijian Affairs", and who also spent 8 years of working in Tonga on separate mission, A.C. Reid, authored the *Tovata I and II*, stated,

Tongans references to Fijian extend back into the realms of myth but firmer ground is reached with the marriage of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (female Tu'i Tonga) Sinaitakala i Langileka to Tapu'osi, the Tu'i Lakepa of Vasivasi – as he is known in Tonga. The issue of this marriage gave rise to the highest-ranking individuals in pre-Christian Tongan society and the memory of it is therefore of some importance in the kingdom's history.⁴⁷¹

It should also be noted that another human grafting among the chiefly lineages was realized in *Sinaitakala i Langileka's* brother Fatafehi who was 30th Tu'i Tonga, after succeeding his father the 29th Tu'i Tonga Tele'a, who died in Samoa. Fatafehi "married *Kaloafutonga*, sister of Ngata, founder of Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu." This was perhaps the first grafting of the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga lineage and the Samoan chiefly line, Tohu'ia's daughter *Kaloafutonga* fathered by the 6th THT. Mo'ungatonga. Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu line saw the claim of merging the old and the new monarchical lineages

⁴⁷⁰ Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua: Mo'ungamotu'a – Toafunake = 16 in all. Merging of the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga – Hou'eiki Fisi – the 20th Tu'i Tonga Tatafu'eikimeimu'a, - Fisi ko Hangana, issued Ngana 'Eiki and Ngana Tatafu – originator of the Fale Fisi – Fijian line within the Tongan monarchical family.

⁴⁷¹ . A. C. Reid, *Tovata I & II*, (Suva: Fiji Museum, 1990), 5.

become a reality of *Ngatuvai Heilala* – enmeshing of the scared blood.⁴⁷² The new line from these human grafting had created a multi-mix of bloods, and the inter-connections of kainga known in Tongan concept as *Maile kuo fihī* – multi-complex-mixture of myrtle vines. This myrtle vines concept was enjoined in the naming of *Tungi Halatuituia*'s grandson as *Tungi Mailefihī* who was to be the Prince consort of HM Queen Salote in 1917.⁴⁷³

From a simplistic view, this is known as *fakamotu* - island way of human grafting - it built up the kainga and the traditional Ha'a Tu'i Tonga. The whole build up was regulated by the manoeuvre of the leading lineage to incorporate the other lineages through *ma'itaki* and *mohefo* cohabitation practices. This view matched with the competition by different lineages who, on the *Feinga Kotone* – Tu'i Tonga lady's beauty contest each lineage promotes their lady to ensnare the sacred blood line through *nonofo* – cohabitation with the Tu'i Tonga. The selected lady would be known as the *Ekiaki* – who was to be the *Ma'itaki* – principal wife. The song composed by *Fa'onelua* of Lapaha says: “*Ekiaki e Feinga Kotone, 'Ahofakasiu mo Olotele,...*”⁴⁷⁴ That was the social cause of grafting chiefly lineages in cultural logic to institute another line of Ha'a Tu'i – that which was becoming realized in the four distinct lineages of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga.

Thus, it cannot be over-stated that Tonga was in superior moral position than her neighbour islands; however, each had a trade to offer to others in due time. While Tonga connection with Fiji consolidated through lady *Sinaitakalailangileka* cohabited with the Fijian *Tapuosi* to create the line of Tamaha – highest chiefly line based on sister's Tapu. The connection with Samoa chiefly lineage was realized through the cohabitation between the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua Mo'ungatonga, with the chiefly lady of Safata, *Limapo Tobu'ia* daughter of 'Amalele began the Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu line.⁴⁷⁵

6.13. The Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu: a human grafting of Tongan Ha'a Tu'i to Samoan chiefly line gave rise to the new line of Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu Gata – Josiah Aleamotu'a = 16 title holders in all.

Tala-Tukufakabolo of Kanokupolu tells of how the institution of Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu had originated from human grafting. It began from a *tango* – proposal by the 6th *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*

⁴⁷² Lord Tu'i'Afitu, Talanoa, Makave, July, 2008.

⁴⁷³ See Wood-Ellem, *Queen Salote of Tonga: The Story of an Era, 1900-1965*.

⁴⁷⁴ This song is titled “Feinga Kotone” and it was composed to contain the story of the inter-marriage between the Kauhala'uta lineage and the chief of Hihifo named 'Ahome'e.

⁴⁷⁵ Informant Tangi ki he Kelekele 'Akau'ola, Kanokupolu, Hihifo, Tonga.

Mo'ungatonga to take the Samoan princess Tohu'ia Limapo from the house of 'Amalele of Safata, Samoa as his wife. This fusion of Tongan dynastic blood with Samoan chiefly lineage had great impact upon the formation of the Tongan dynasty. It will, no doubt, in the future create a significant change in the course of the Kingships and may as well deteriorate in some way a significant aspect of Tongan traditional history. Moun gatonga, on returning to Tonga with Tohu'ia had a son and named him Gata.⁴⁷⁶ Then the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'ungatonga was directed that they moved to take control of an unsettled rival at *Hihifo* - the Western district of Tongatapu. From then, they settled at Neiafu, and there built a Samoan colony named the *Kano 'o Upolu* – the heart of Upolu (now known as Kanokupolu). This inter-marriage and the Upolu colony in Tonga saw an investment of Samoan politic in Tonga Tapu culture. Tohu'ia was accompanied by her brother Kili who came to secure and serve his sister – a Polynesian traditional custom. From Kili emanated the *Fale Ha'akili* – House of Kili, Tohu'ia's brothers. They settled at the village of 'Ahau – meaning to secure the Hau – Tu'i. The people of 'Ahau village accomplish that service to the Tu'i Kanokupolu nowadays.

Gata cohabited "*HifokitalangameiVa'i*" from the house of Chief 'Ahome'e, of Ha'avakatolo, Hihifo, they issued a son named *Vakalepu* from whom the house of the old *Ha'a Ngata (Motu'a)* originated and his descendant '*Abio* is the head of the Old *Ha'a Ngata*.⁴⁷⁷ A descendant of *Gata* named *Tuituiobu* moved and settled in the island of Vava'u, challenged the ruling Tu'i Vava'u at the time to build the *Ha'a Ngata Tupu* – The young clan of *Gata*. The *Ha'a Ngata Motu'a* (old) comprised of *Gata's* brothers; *Atama'ila*, who became the second *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, and other brothers; were *Leilua* (Ve'ehala), *Kaumavae*, and *Kapukava*.⁴⁷⁸

I am borrowing the table of genealogy of the *Ha'a Ngata of Hihifo*, prepared by the historian Fr. Gareth Grainger and published in his book *The Ata the Chiefs of Hihifo:1700-1850*,⁴⁷⁹ I believe the table of genealogy offers facts of history that put the development of the Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu lineage in perspective, and its linkage to the Samoan chiefly line of Upolu. The TK lineage had

⁴⁷⁶ Salote, "*Ko E Tohi 'a 'Ene 'Afio, 1958-59*, (the Writings of Queen Salote)."; Salote, "*Ko E Tohi Hohoko 'a Kuini Salote Tupou* (Genealogy Book of Queen Salote Tupou). ."

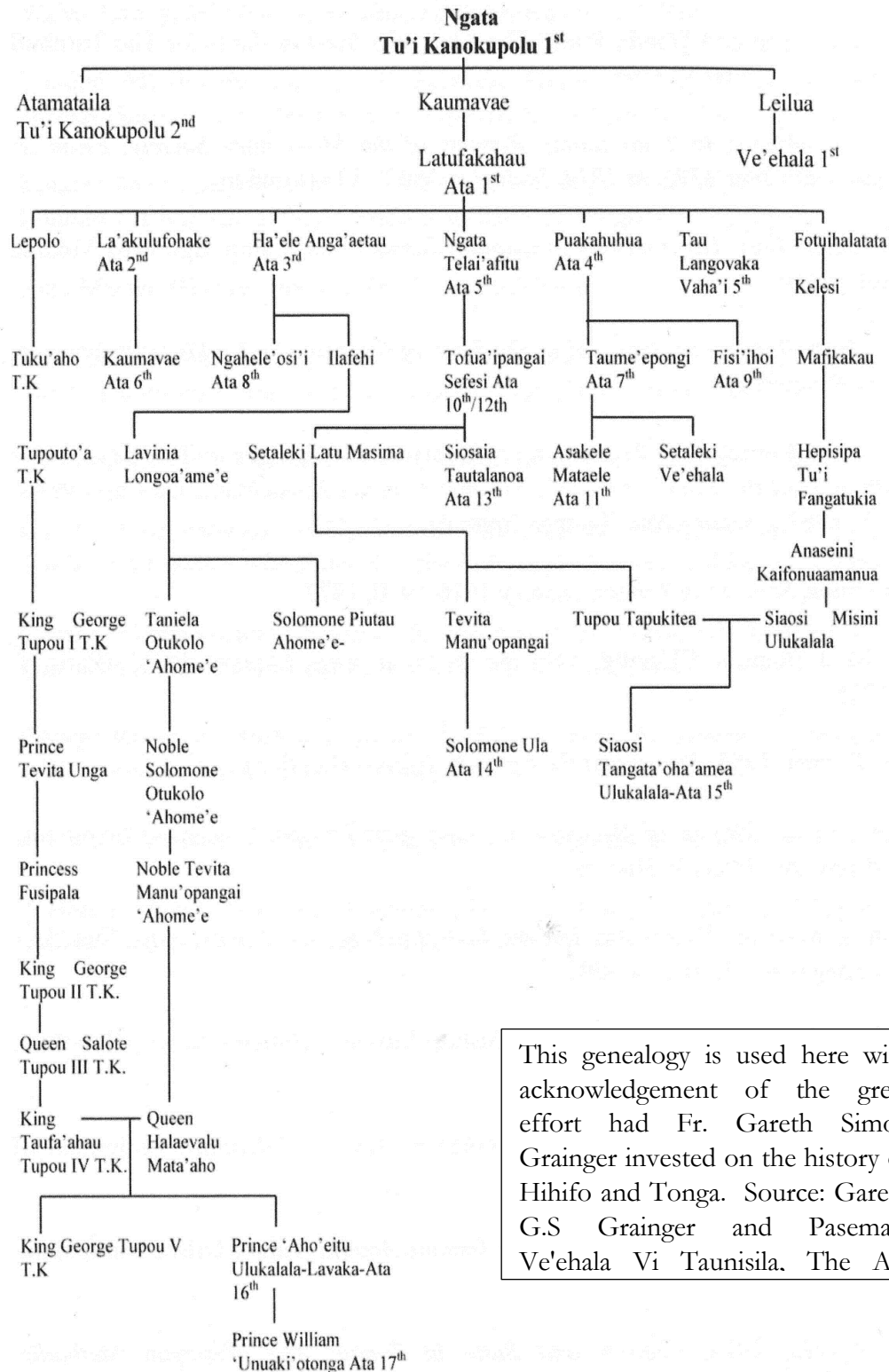
⁴⁷⁷ Nanasipau'u, 'Ahio, and Latu, *Ko E Ta'u 'E 190 'O E Fale Ko Cokevernal li 'I He 'Api Ko Ameloke, Kolovai, Tonga*. (2016). 44.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Grainger and Taunisila, *The Ata Chiefs of Hihifo: 1700-1850* (2009).

made great impact upon the development of the Tongan Ha'a Tu'i. Its investment on the further build-up of a new lineage under its name of the Uho 'o 'Upolu – The Heart of 'Upolu tells it all.

THE ATA CHIEFS OF HIHIFO



This genealogy is used here with acknowledgement of the great effort had Fr. Gareth Simon Grainger invested on the history of Hihifo and Tonga. Source: Gareth G.S Grainger and Pasemata Ve'ehala Vi Taunisila. The Ata

The Ha'a Ngata Tupu which was began by *Tuituiobu* at Vava'u Island became the rascals of the era. The main rivals were Tupouniua and Finau 'Ulukalala who, not only assassinated the Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho in 1799 but also instigated that civil war that engaged all parties of the society with deaths and poverty on the land. The most remembered incident of this civil war was the shameful killing of the three LMS missionaries at Ha'ateiho.⁴⁸⁰

6.14. The List of the Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu lineage:

This list of the successive Tu'i Kanokupolu is taken from Tamaha 'Amelia's genealogy,

Ngata,	son of Moungatonga resided in Le'ole'o, Kolovai, Hihifo.
Atamata'ila,	son of Ngata,
Mataeletu'apiko	son of Atamata'ila
Vuna	son of Mataeleha'amea escaped to Vava'u to build his own empire aiming to control the whole of Tonga but failed.
Mataeleha'amea	son of Mataeletu'apiko, said to be resided in Ha'amea.
Ma'afu'oTu'itonga	son of Mataeletu'apiko
Tupoulahi	son of Ma'afu'oTu'itonga
Maealiuaki	son of Ma'afu'oTu'itonga
Tu'ihalafatai	son of Tupoulahi
Tupoulahisi'i	son of Tu'i Halafatai
Mulikiha'amea	son of Mealiuaki lived in Mu'a.
Tupoumoheofo	daughter of Tupoulahi wife of TT Baulaho, lived at Fekitetele, Mataika, Vava'u, only ruled for a short period and deposed by Tuku'aho to reinstall his father Mumui.
Mumui	son of Ma'afu'oTu'itonga shifted
the	residence from Hihifo to Fangatapu in Nuku-'Alofa. He had 36 children and the founder of the village of Kolomotu'a.
Tuku'aho	son of Mumui resided in Kanokupolu, Hihifo.
Ma'afu'olimuloa	son of Ma'afutuku'i'aulahi
Tupou Malohi	son of Mumui
Tupouto'a	son of son of Tuku'aho resided in Lifuka, Ha'apai and died there in 1820.

⁴⁸⁰ Wood, *History and Geography of Tonga.*; Ernest Edgar Vyvyan Collocott, ed. *Ko E Ta'u 'E Teau: Ko E Fai Ma'a E Kau Helohelo*(Ko e Pulusi 'i Lonitoni: Ma'ae Siasi Uesiliana Tau'ataina 'o Tonga, 1972). 22.

Tupou Faletuipapai (Aleamotu'a)	son of Mumui resided in Kolomotu'a and became the last Tu'i Kanokupolu, but the first Christian Tu'i, baptized in Nuku'alofa in 1829. ⁴⁸¹
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The Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu was an inter-marriage of the 6th Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua Mo'ungatonga with Tohu'ia from the house of Amalele, Safata Samoa. I have listed 18 title holders above as the Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu. This Ha'a Tu'i saw a creation of a new line through the inter-marriage between Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua of Tonga and the chiefly line of 'Upolu in Samoa, it was a significant investment of chiefly lineages between neighbor islands' chiefs. In all, it was a build-up of Tongan *Tala-Tukufakabolo* of Ha'a Tu'i.

Another significant institution initiated by the Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu known as Mohefo practice. The lady from the TK lineage cohabited the Tu'i Tonga to create the newest lineage known as the Ha'a Mohefo. The practice of Mohefo was originated at the time of TK Atamata'ila and his daughter and Tu'i Tonga Fakana'ana'a. However, this work holds that this new lineage of Ha'a mohefo was not formally realized until, the time of King Taufa'ahau Tupou 1 in 1845. With due respect, I have named the new line emanated of the Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu creation as the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou.

6.15. The Ha'a Tu'i Tonga TUPOU: 1845 – 2014.

Though this lineage of Tu'i Tonga Tupou had not been officially installed under the title of (Tu'i Tonga) I believe, HM. Tu'i Tonga Tupou, I trusted that in the near future it will. I included the title Tu'i Tonga as prefix of the title Tupou because reading through sources it is evident that it was the intention of Tupou I to amalgamate the three lineages into the lineage Tupou. HM King Taufa'ahau Tupou I did it by the indigenous way of cohabitations and inter-marriages among the three traditional lineages. Mohefo practice was formally instituted by offering a lady of the Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu to cohabit the Tu'i Tonga in office at the time to produce the progeny of the Mohefo. Through this indigenous way, the present ruling Ha'a Tu'i is known as the *Fale 'o Ha'a Mohefo* – House of Mohefo. The cultural logic of *Uho Tau* – meaning a brother and sister are of the same father and *Uho Taba* - a brother and a sister are of the same mother are key elements in the status of a person. The status of a person is determined by the status of the mother because the mother provided the *Uho* which is the umbilical cord, that connects the baby to her mother.

⁴⁸¹ Rutherford, Ve'ehala, and Fanua, "Oral Tradition and Prehistory." (1977), 36-7.

In the logic of *Tama Tu'u he fa'e* – the chiefly status of a person is determined by the chiefly status of the mother through which a baby is born.

Since, a sister is higher in status than a brother, the sister's children would always be *fabu* of the brother's children. It is evident that inter-marriages from the first *Mohefo* practice between *Tu'utangahunuhunu* (daughter of Atamata'ila) and *Tu'i Tonga Fakana'ana'a* begun the elevation of the Tu'i Kanokupolu lineage to the status of '*eiki tete'e* – highest Tapu status of the person with sacred blood. This is because, the lineage is a progeny of the Ha'a Takalaua mothered by a high chiefly mother of Samoa. Later inter-marriages to the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga elevated the line. This reality is well culminated on the person of HM. Tupou IV (1918-2006) because his person was the offspring of the hybridization of Salote Tupou III (daughter of a Tu'i Tonga lady Queen Lavinia fathered by Tu'i Tupou II, a grandson of Taufa'ahau Tupou I) and Prince consort Tungi Mailefihi of Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua whom was, the grandson of Tungi Halatuituia, the descendant of the previous inter-marriages between the Ha'a Takalaua and Ha'a Tu'i Tonga lineage. The grafting of blood saw its highest point when the three main lineages were being amalgamated in the person of H.M. Tu'i Tonga Tupou IV.

HM. Tupou IV's person saw highest status with the *toto'i 'eiki* of the *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga* through his paternal and maternal high status. Thus, I conclude, that this title of Tupou lineage is worth known as Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou dynasty.

The list of the Fourth lineage of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou:

King George Taufa'ahau Tupou I son of Tupouto'a ruled from 1845-1893.

King George Taufa'ahau Tupou II great grandson of Tupou I ruled from 1893-1918.

Queen Salote Mafile'o Pilolevu Tupou III daughter of Tupou II from 1918-1965.

H.M. King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV son of Salote Tupou III ruled from 1965-2006.⁴⁸²

King George Tupou V son of Tupou IV ruled from 2006- 2012.

King Tupou VI son of Tupou IV ruled from 2012 -⁴⁸³

Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou: From Tu'i Tonga Tupou I – Tu'i Tupou VI. = 6 in all.

⁴⁸² N. Rutherford, Ve'ehala and Tupou Posesi Fanua, "Oral Tradition and Prehistory," in Noel Rutherford, (ed.) *Tongan Society: A History of Tonga*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1977), 31.

⁴⁸³ See a brief outline of the achievements by the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou on my song composition in honour of HM King Tupou VI coronation on 4 July, 2015. Paula Onoafe Latu, "Ha'a Tui 'O Tonga: King Tupou Vi Ke Langilangi'ia 'a Kalaisi 'I Ho'o Pule.," History and Records (Nuku'alofa: Siasi Uesiliana Tau'ataina 'o Tonga, 2015).

This thesis asserts that Tu'i Tonga Taufa'ahau Tupou I instituted the fourth lineage of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga by culturally grafting through intermarriages of lineages of all the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga and amalgamated lineages into one lineage – which I suggest as the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou. This fusion of dynastic blood lines gave the person of Tu'i Tonga Tupou IV the person with the highest *toto'i 'eiki* – sacred blood or more commonly known as *'eiki tete'e*.

I have coined the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou as the fourth of the partite lineage of the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga based upon their adoption of the title Tupou. In essence, this lineage is the culmination of the all tripartite blood lines of Ha'a Tu'i 'o Tonga. With due respect to the Ha'a Tu'i 'o Tonga themselves I may represent the *kainangaefonua* class in offering our outmost reverence and appreciation for their being so far as leaders of the four-partite Ha'a Tu'i of Tonga. Appreciatively we feel proud, honoured and blessed with their achievements thus far. For over ten centuries according to *Tala-Tukufakabolo* the Ha'a Tu'i 'o Tonga did not die down and lost in the wake of European colonization and imperialism. It survived to the present day, and may they continue to survive as a living drama of history where the future generations may read through them the wise instructions of the *Tala-Tukufakabolo*. In the unforeseen future, it is still prospering and thrive, treasured as the piece of gold in the eyes of every Tongan. They are themselves real evidences of the *Tala-Tukufakabolo*; most significantly, the proofs of the historio-art and crafting, historio-graphing and historio-grafting of the past itself – in their persons, their ruling capacities, and cultural legacies that survived to date.

6.16. The Title Taufa'ahau: The Kauhala'uta investment on the office of Tu'i of Tonga.

It must be stated since the first ever-qualified Tongan historian Sione Latukefu discussed the birthplace of Tu'i Tonga Tupou I to claim Ha'apai over Tongatapu tradition; I must admit that after weighing all evidences available, I conclude that Tongatapu is more appropriate to me. I will not discuss this problem further. However, I take Tongatapu as Taufa'ahau's birthplace. The reason for this; I have weighed the evidences provided by Sione Latukefu⁴⁸⁴ for the two places and am satisfied with the Tongatapu for three reasons: first, the evidences provided for Tongatapu birthplace agrees with the marks on lands to prove it is based on the event of the birth itself rather than on the names of places to be interpreted Ha'apai as the likely place of his birth. Second, the given name by Kautai upon the person of *Taufa'ahau* belongs to *Kauhala'uta* of the *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga*. The name *Taufa'-o-'Aha* depicted the land-scape that located *'Aha'uta* on land; and the sea-scape

⁴⁸⁴ See a full discussion of the Taufa'ahau's birthplace by Sione Latukefu in; Sione Latukefu, *Church and State in Tonga: The Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries and Political Development, 1822-1875*, (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974), 87-88.

that located *‘Abau Tabi* (Sea) the place at sea where the god Taufu’itahi resided. These locations in Mu’a still stand. Third, that Taufu’ahau Tupou I instituted the last and fourth lineage which I term here as Ha’a Tu’i Tonga Tupou is the surest evidence that he had every right to claim upon his person and title the highest chief of Tonga Tapu on the Tapu land and not of Ha’apai alone.

Since, the genealogy of Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou III does not provide clear evidence of the birthplace and therefore, it is appropriate to offer the Tongatapu version. Tu’i Tonga Tupou I was originally named *Tama ko Tangita*.⁴⁸⁵ It is mentioned in various compositions referring Taufu’ahau as, “*Tama ko Tangita*”.⁴⁸⁶ The Kauhala’uta tradition narrates, *Tama ko Tangita* baby was born by Hoamofaleono, daughter of *Ma’afu Tuku’i’aulahi* at Kahoua, Ha’amea, during a sport competition of *Sika ‘Ulutoa*. It is said, that when *Hoamofaleono* became pregnant she developed a “peculiar craving for human blood.”⁴⁸⁷ Another story from Vaini told that *Hoamofaleono* was taken by her father Ma’afu of Vaini and *tuku* put her to bath at *‘au lahi* of *Manavanga*. This is the passage out from Mu’a Bay to the open sea where currents were so strong. This event was ordered on her so that the pressure of the current of *Manavanga* would abort her baby. The father feared that this baby would grow up to be a bloodthirsty ruler in the future of Tonga – based on the mother’s craving for blood at pregnancy. This event is well encapsulated in the name *Tuku ‘i ‘aulahi* as being suffixed the chiefly name of the present chief of Vaini - *Ma’afu Tuku ‘i ‘Au lahi*.

The pregnant *Hoamofaleono* escaped unharmed from the *Manavanga* passage, and near birth, she was in audience of the sport of *Sika ‘Ulutoa* at Fualu, because Tu’i Kanokupolu Tupouto’a was one of the competitors, during, which she entered into labour and gave birth to the baby boy. Lavaka, chief of Pea ordered her a mid-wife for the delivery of the baby. The baby was wrapped by the *ma’uli* – midwife from Pea. Accordingly, Lavaka named the baby *Tama ko Tangita*. The baby was taken care of by the midwife at the dictate of Ma’afu. Part of Pea village known as Tokomololo is Ma’afu’s estate. According to its tradition, the boy was very sick of cold. Lavaka ordered the midwife to rub the body with lolo – oil to give him comfort but was to no avail. Sometimes later, the boy got very unwell and the midwife was seeking the advice of Lavaka. The midwife was directed to take the sick boy to *Kautai* - the Taula-priest of *‘Abau ‘uta* at Mu’a.

In Mu’a, *Kautai* was the *Taula* custodian (priest) of ‘Ahau. He performed all rituals and healed the boy. *Kautai* did it by putting the boy’s body half buried in a high steamed earth oven already

⁴⁸⁵ Told by the aged 89 of Kolofo’ou, Viliami Muti Taumoepeau, Talanoa, Kolofo’ou, 4 August, 1998.

⁴⁸⁷ Told by Queen Salote, in Latukefu (1974), p. 87.

covered with *polata*. This is the succulent watery false stem of the *musa sapientis* sp. banana plants. The oven held the boy's head up on the air, while all other parts of his body were steamed in the oven. The boy was left in the oven for some hours, while the steam and the heat of the oven transpired the cold and fever from his sickened body.⁴⁸⁸ It is believed that the boy suffered of pneumonia and had caused his body to have been weakened with viral infections.

Kautai afterwards changed the name of the boy from *Tama ko Tangita*, and re-named him *Taufa'ahau* – meaning he had been healed by “the power of ‘Ahau.” He had been healed by the power (Taufa)- from –‘Ahau, the residing place of the gods Taufa'itahi – the shark. *'Ahau 'uta* was the residing place on land and *'Ahau Tabi* was residing place at sea. Thus, the baby was healthy from then, used the name Taufa'ahau from *Kauhala'uta* ever since and was taken to Ha'apai when Tupouto'a moved to reside in Ha'apai at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This story coincided with the tradition that Taufa'ahau witnessed the sacking of the *Port au prince* in 1806,⁴⁸⁹ when he was ten years old then. But from another source, Thomas recorded that Taufa'ahau fought beside his father at Bea in 1817, then, aged 13.⁴⁹⁰ But Peter Turner estimated his age to 16 at the death of his father Tupouto'a in Lifuka, Ha'apai in 1820.

6.17. The Tripartite titles of Tu'i Tonga Tupou: George Taufa'ahau Tupou.

This name *Taufa'ahau* is the Kauhala'uta investment upon the title of the Tongan Ha'a Tu'i titles. Taking the name *Taufa 'o 'Ahau* from the title of *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga* would be, in my view, a symbol of relinquishing the vested power of the *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga* on the person and the throne.⁴⁹¹ When Taufa'ahau Tupou I was enthroned at the Koka in Hihifo by Rev John Thomas in 1845, His person was given the title Siaosi after the King George of Great Britain. Tupou I also chose the name Taufa'ahau, which is in my view, an investment of the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga power upon his person and the ruling dynasty. Tupou I also chosen Tupou – after the name of the Kanokupolu gods – Taliai Tupou, thus, in my own view, three grafted titles signified the beginning of yet another lineage of the Tu'i Tonga Tupou dynasty. Any attempt to take away a title from the tripartite

⁴⁸⁸ This was the Tongan way of curing pneumonia and colds from a sickened body in the old days, and it may be called the Tongan sauna in old days.

⁴⁸⁹ Elizabeth Wood-Ellem, “Who is Who” in Elizabeth Wood-Ellem, *Queen Salote of Tonga: The story of an Era, 1900-1965*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), 318.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ This fact of relinquishing the name Taufa'ahu from the title was practised by HM Tupou V and the ruling monarch King Tupou VI when they came to power. In cultural terms, it is a relinquishing also of the vested power of Kauhala'uta in the title of the ruling dynasty..

grafted Siaosi Taufa'ahau Tupou would be a way of attempting to relinquish the invested power and dignity of the Tu'i Tonga title - the corner stone of the history of Tonga.

Summation.

The discussion in this chapter was focussed on unravelling the facts about the supernatural aspect of the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga and the way it had been lived, and influence the lives of the people over ten centuries to date. It was based on the belief that the first known visitor to Tonga Tangaloa 'Eitumatubu'a was a sky-god. The warm reception he received from the first lady of the island gave the spot of their interactions a special name and honour. The incurred burden the members of the family bore in the tenth century still survive to today as for the name Ha'amonga – it was a memoir of the son 'Aho'eitu shouldering his burden of being a fatherless child until he climbed the Toa tree to find his father in the sky. In fact, 'Eitumatubu'a returned to the sky after impregnating 'Ilaheva with the baby to be 'Aho'eitu. The places are treated by the nation as one of the heritage sites of Tonga. With that prestige, his son 'Aho'eitu became the first Tu'i Tonga while his elder brothers came to serve him in his rule, as ordered by their father 'Eitumatubu'a.

Hence, the policy began when the youngest became Tu'i and the elders lived to serve him from this tenth century episode. This policy ensued the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga would be the longest title holders to 39 over the period of tenth century to the death of the last Tu'i Tonga in 1865. The Ha'a Tu'i Tonga was received with honour and their successive progenies succeeded their father as Tu'i. Later progenies built up the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga lineage.

Although assassinations occurred in the 19th, 22nd, and the 23rd Tu'i Tonga, the system build up continued to further enrich the *Tala-Tukufakaholo* 'o Tonga.

The last assassination of the 23rd Tu'i Tonga gave way to the successor to institute another lineage of Ha'a Tu'i which was known by Hau'ofa and other scholars as a buffer. Again, from my point of cultural logic view, the reason for this creation of lineage was to elevate the sky-god lineage into its frequency of operation, the sky level. The sky level was the Tapu - sacred level. The great reverence paid by the Tongans to the sky-god related Ha'a Tu'i is the basis of the Tapu culture. The New lineage of Ha'a Takalaua was created to safeguard the Ha'a Tu'i TopuTapu, as god themselves. Worships were offered to them; tribute of first fruits and other services were addressed to them in the position of treating them as god.

Consolidation of Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua was by inter-marriage between Sinaitakalailangileka the daughter of Tu'i Tonga Tele'a and the chief from Vacivaci, Lakemba, Lau. This union saw the

creation of yet another office, the Tamaha – sacred child of the Tu'i Tonga sister's children, lived in Tungua island.

Until the 6th Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua then proposed to a Samoan princess from the house of Amalele of Safata the lady Tohu'ia who became the wife of the Tu'i Takalaua Mo'ungatonga. They came to live in Hihifo and established what I call the Samoan regime. Out of this graft, other lineages were instituted like Old Ha'a Ngata, and the new Ha'a Ngata who in turn became rivals of each other and started successive civil wars for Tonga. The forts were built by various chiefs because of this uprising in civil wars caused by the rivalry among the Samoan regime and the later lineages; Ha'a Ngata Motu'a, Ha'a Ngata Tupu and the Ha'a Havea Lahi and Ha'a Havea Si'i.

New developments came later and the Ha'a Tu'i was further built up to start the fourth lineage by Tupou I in 1845. His strategy of building up this new line was by way of Mohefo between Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu and Ha'a Tu'i Tonga for the purpose of ensnaring the sacred blood of the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga, thus, elevated the Kanokupolu lineage into a higher position as did Taufa'ahau Tupou IV. He was known in *Tala-Tukufakabolo* oral historiography as the highest person with toto'i 'eiki – sacred blood, only through inter-marriages.

Nevertheless, *Tala-Tukufakabolo* acts silently as the Queen Matilda who advised and instructed the present generations who are the weavers to embroider the panel of Tongan history and Fala 'o e Fonua oral historiography properly and accordingly to the *Tala Tuku mei mu'a*. While the Western hegemony asks for fixing the facts of history by stitching, the alternative prefers to *Pako*⁴⁹² - weave, because flexibility is one of our Tongan policies. *Pako lo taba* aims at fixing a specific point, while *Pako lo ua* – double cage bond aims at flexibility, so that all can be embraced. The broken souls always have a space in the total weaving and grafting business to include all.: the *Tu'i*, *Hou'eiki* and *KainangaeFonua*.

What comes next for Tonga?

⁴⁹² Pako depicts the method of how the fishermen of Tonga made their nets by weaving it with strings made from bark of trees of *Olongaa*, *Masi'ata*, *Fo'ui*, *Fau*, and *Polata* plants. Pako allows flexibility to catch all fish sizes.

CHAPTER SEVEN.

7.1. KAVA: Historio-graphing of Tala-Tukufakaholo in Fulitaunga/Milolua protocol.

With this holistic model, we gain a deeper appreciation of the world we live in today, how this present time is connected to our shared human past, and how we might help create a life-enhancing future. And the model helps to connect seemingly disparate strands of the past and present into a holistic process that provides a workable, intelligible framework for understanding our shared history.... If we pay attention, our history can teach us valuable lessons from the past that can be applied to our life today. History needs to be more than a dry collection of interesting but unconnected facts about the past; **instead it can be a rich gift from generations long ago to the present generation.** Our study of history can provide a worthy experience relevant to our lives today from which wisdom and guidance can be gleaned, not only for making informed decisions about the present but also to gain valuable knowledge for fashioning a viable, healthy, stable and sustainable future.

(A Holistic World History: An Introduction Dr. Denise R. Ames)⁴⁹³



Figure 7. This diagram presents Kava as the symbol of unity, envisioned the Kava forum and polity as the meeting point of all representative in Tongan practical down to earth way of governance.

⁴⁹³ A Holistic World History: An Introduction by Dr. Denise R. Ames. *Center for Global Awareness Waves of Global Change*. Source: <http://www.global-awareness.net/Waves%20Global%20Change/Chapter%201.pdf> (accessed 13. 06.2013).

Introduction

Tala-Tukufakabolo holds facts about the merging by articulation of orality, religious practices and rituals in consolidating the processes. The articulation was orchestrated by visitors to Tonga named the Kau Lo'au. Their exercise amalgamated the Tala of Kava – the leper, the plants that grew up on the mounds the names of the people, the practice of the day, and the spirit conjoined with the event saw a very well-articulated ritual for Tongan social politic rooted in orality. This chapter narrates the history of Kava and how it was formed and reformed in *Fulitaunga* and *Milolua* protocols for presentation to each chiefly lineage in the Kava forum. The aim of this narration the story of Kava is to portray the fact that the *graphing* – by articulating of various ethnological facts of the past, society and culture and for the use in politic was introduced to Tonga by the Kau Lo'au. This chapter in whole should prove my argument for alter-native historio-graphing (articulation of facts) to reconstruct the past in Oceania context.

It is appropriate to specify three factors pertaining to the nature and quality of alter-native Oceania historio-graphy.

- i. Telling history in an alter-native way (Vaka'uta, 2006.) Tongan *Tala-Tukufakabolo* framework is holistic (Mason Durie, 1996), grafting by engagement, performances and physical presentations of how we live as people in our island pragmatic way of living life as Oceanians. In contrast, the strategic dominant rational narration of the past in words, has indeterminately labelled the island ways of life in their effort to suppress, dominate and colonize, and more to suit their own agenda. (Maude) Ontologically, as a whole it should answer questions of the scrutinized people under study and also offer lessons about life for contemporary society.
- ii. As it seeks to present this grafting process of Lo'au's story on the amalgamating of oral history, and material culture on land, reproducing a ritual for political use. Having the sacrificed human as centre piece of the Kava life history, – the whole articulation was obviously an introduced framework. The infused story of Kava has engaged the minds, the souls, the experiences, and emotions of all senses, merging them in laughter, tears, with deep reverences, in hearty engagements with the spirit of our ancestors – as peculiar ways of further crafting our thoughts, experiences and worldviews. The theorists with another framework view us from their distant positions and claimed it as superstitions.

Tala-Tukufakabolo presents Kava as a grafted historic person (male-female, by Tongan-Fijian) and a living legacy (where her life was affected by leprosy) but was sacrificed in honour of her Tu'i.

Her sacrifice was transformed from being a dead person into being a plant and its beverages the free undisciplined nature of deep reminiscences and recollections and facts of past life, winding up to culminating the Hau'ofa maxim "blood in the Kava bowl".⁴⁹⁴ When one drinks a cup of kava, the agenda, other than the necessities of life is for the people concerned to be happy; free mind and life drift aimlessly upon the deepest widest and largest ocean of the globe hoping for a final destiny in the unknown future – comforted by a long sleep to rest the minds and hearts.

Kava has been claimed, politicized and regulated by outsiders from their own distant position as drugs and not a cultural beverage worthy of our own cultural practices. That takes us to the core of this chapter, which is to present a map of how Lo'au as historiographer articulated the story of Kava and the cultural practice of performing arts to produce a ritual for the Tongan political forum. I have recreated here the three-partite creations of the past in a traditional Kava ceremony. I shall present this dimension of Tongan cultural-history in three significant parts;

- First, I argue that *Tala 'o e Kava* - History of Kava was a coinage of Lo'au composition and articulation, supported by the *Tala-Tukufakaholo*.
- Second, the actual grafting (articulation) of this history was by Lo'au and is a reform of Tongan *Tala-Tukufakaholo* and to be known as the period of historio-graphing of Tonga history. (12-18 AD).⁴⁹⁵
- Lastly, I will also graft the actual ritualistic presentation of Kava in Tongan political culture that encapsulated the six-partite historio-grafting nature of Tongan past in the fourth Warrington's definition of universal history stated earlier.

7.2. **TALA 'O E KAVA *piper methysticum*: The Art of Historio-graphing by way of articulation of History and Rituals to become a Political forum of Democratic** ⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁴ Epeli Hau'ofa, "Blood in the Kava Bowl," Poem, *Red in the Kava Bowl*(2014), <http://readingthemaps.blogspot.co.nz/2014/03/red-in-kava-bowl.html>.

⁴⁹⁵ I call this period of Tonga history "Medieval" because it falls in between the mythical period and modernity. Modernity depicts the time when contact with the outside world began and the introduction of their modernist-outside views and civilization which disturbed the Tongan indigenous worldviews and practices. The medieval is also called because its island notion of civilization falls between the way of life of the dark age and modernity.

⁴⁹⁶ I must acknowledge that other Pacific islands have their own peculiar ways of telling the History of Kava, or Ava, and in most narrative versions of Kava for academic purpose is well known as Kavaonau, but this chapter will present the Tongan version of the story. The reason being is to entail how the remembered past is being appropriately grafted with a form of medieval reconstruction to see its present legacy of Kava presentation in Tongan polity and social significance.

i. The story of Fevanga and Fefafa in Tungua island:

Tala-Tukufakaholo chronicles a couple named *Fevanga* and *Fefafa*, living with their new-born daughter named *Kava* who was a leper. They were said to have lived on the island of Tungua, Ha'apai. This island from old days was the residence of the Tamaha – the highest Tapu person of Tongan society.⁴⁹⁷ Tamaha persons were the children of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine – Tu'i sister and were Fahu – the most Tapu person at the pinnacle of every family. Every extended kainga has a fahu. In Tongan culture the Fahu is the person with the most sacred godly blood, who takes privileges of the *Tu'i* and all the people of the land. Observing the dignity of Tamaha in the context of Tapu relationships entailed a ritualistic culture. When people came to pay tribute to the Tamaha, like the *katoanga 'inasi* took place, a presentation with great reverence was observed to the Tamaha.

The entry point to the residence of the Tamaha was located on the beach named *Faa'imata* – the 'eyes of every person who comes to pay tribute to the Tamaha must be torched on the spot with a fire'. *Faa'imata* signified a ritual where a full burned log was used as a torch to check every person's eyes. It was believed that in so doing, the hot fire exterminated any demonic spirit that may reside in the eyes of the person. Tongan theology taught that the demonic spirits lived in the eyes of a person. Thus, every person who came to visit the Tamaha had to undergo this ritualistic performance on this *Faa'imata* spot at the beach of Tungua island in Ha'apai.

The couple Fevanga and Fefafa knew that the reputation of the Tamaha would be besmeared with the leprosy of their daughter so they showed their exceeding reverence, and left the island with their leper daughter. They escaped from Tungua island without anybody knowing of their whereabouts. They sailed to the south west and landed on the uninhabited island of *'Eueiki* – 'small 'Eua', located at the north-north-east of Tongatapu and to the north-west of 'Eua island. They named the beach they landed on as *Faa'imata* and that naming marked on the landscape of 'Eueiki lives as evidence to their origin. They settled on land and are believed to have been the first to have inhabited the island of 'Eueiki.

ii. The 'Eueiki episode:

The Free Wesleyan Church Department of Education, Teaching Notes of Tonga Culture titled, *Ko e Kava mo e Ngaahi Koloa FakaTonga*,⁴⁹⁸ (Kava and the Tongan art and craft) recollected from the

⁴⁹⁷. See the Wood-Ellem, *Queen Salote of Tonga: The Story of an Era, 1900-1965*. 18.

⁴⁹⁸ Anonymous, *Ko E Kava Mo E Ngaahi Koloa Fakatonga*, ed. Siassi Uesiliana Tau'atina 'o Tonga, 'Ofisi Ako (Nuku'alofa: Potungaue Ako Siasi Uesiliana Tau'atina 'o Tonga, n.d.). (hereinafter FWCT Notes)

remembered past the story about the Tu'i Tonga who went on a fishing expedition and landed on the island of 'Eueiki in search for refreshments.⁴⁹⁹ Re-viewing other sources, I am content that this Tu'i Tonga was Momo who was Tu'i Tonga in the 12th century. On arrival at the island, Tu'i Tonga Momo enjoyed the cool breeze under a giant taro plant on the beach, while his men went on land to look for refreshments for him - fruits and food. There, his men met Fevanga and Fefafa and informed them of the presence of the Tu'i Tonga on the island.

The couple, who had departed from Tungua island, with great fondness for the Tamaha-Tapu person, were willing to provide a reception for the Tu'i Tonga. The mother in no time began the fire to start an 'umu while the father Fevanga hurried down to the beach to harvest their only *Kape* giant taro plant for the 'umu. On arrival, he noted the Tu'i Tonga was enjoying the sea breeze under the shadow of the giant Taro plant. Customarily, wherever the Tu'i Tonga resided, the place and objects became Tapu. The father hurried back with desperation to Fefafa, informing her of the unexpected event. Thus, they resolved on the spot that their daughter, though a leper, would be the best means to show their exceeding reverence to the Tu'i Tonga. They quietly went in to their grass house and slaughtered their only daughter Kava, prepared and baked her in the 'umu as a feast for their Tu'i. This practice of human sacrifice is a clue that the couple came from Fiji. It could have been a normal practice in the old days.

iii. The daughter had been sacrificed:

The Tu'i Tonga on learning about the sacrifice of Kava ordered Fevanga and Fefafa came before him at the beach. There, he told them how he had been nourished by the spirit of their hospitality in sacrificing their only daughter. Then, Tu'i Tonga Momo advised them, that he was leaving the island with his party, but they must not open the 'umu; let it be her grave. It should be remembered that anything touched, or destined to be presented to the Tu'i Tonga was Tapu, and so was this became the grave of Kava. It was ordered to be Tapu and never to be opened forever. Thenceforth, the couple kept the 'umu as the cemetery of Kava. It so happened as time went on, they noticed two plants; one sprouted from the head position and another sprouted from the foot position. For some years, the two plants grew as two different herbal plants.

7.3. LO'AU – THE HISTORIO-GRAPHER OF KAVA.

i. HM Queen Salote notes on the Lo'au.

⁴⁹⁹ Salote, "*Ko E Tohi 'a 'Ene 'Afio, 1958-59, (the Writings of Queen Salote).*"

I take this period of Tonga history as a period of historio-graphing – in the sense of scientific articulation of facts from orality, associated with material cultures of the environment, with the rituals of sacrifice graphed for a social purpose. This work believes that these Lo’au migrants were visitors from afar, and their skills in articulations, and stonemasonry were of highest quality, and were real architects. Ralph Linton on his *Archaeology of the Marquesas Island* noted,

The Marquesas possessed a surprising skill in stone construction. Although they built no single structure which equalled the finest of the Tongan burial places (*langi*) or the great marae of Oborea in Tahiti, the general excellence of their work places them in the first rank of builders.⁵⁰⁰

It is probable that there is a connection between the Lo’auans and the architects who built stone structures in the Marquesas, Tahiti, and Hawaiki. The Lo’auans’ monumental work is the *Ha’amonga ‘a Maui* and the *‘otu langi*. The first Lo’au Tuputoka of Ha’amea’s daughter Nua being the wife of Tu’i Tonga Momo invested that foreign blood in the Tu’i Tonga lineage. The ability of the later Tu’i of Tonga to wisely control and govern the Tongan empire is here believed to have been taught by the Lo’auans. Associating Lo’au and stonemasonry as seen in the *Ha’amonga* with the stone statues on other Polynesian islands links to a certain group of migrants to the Pacific from afar.

ii. History of the Lo’au Migrants:

Tala-Tukufakaholo holds that an unknown visitor[s] arrived in Tonga just before the time of *Tu’i Tonga Momo*. His name was Lo’au, according to Queen Salote, “*Ko e hingoa Lo’au ‘oku ongo muli ki he lea Tonga,*”⁵⁰¹ – the name Lo’au sounds foreign in the Tongan language. According to Makalangahiva (informant of Kauhala’uta) there were three groups of Lo’au: 1. *Lo’au Kikite* – a prophet. 2. *Lo’au Tokanga* – an architect. and 3. *Lo’au Faifolau* – a navigator. The first group was said to have knowledge about the space and the gods. The second group possessed skills of working the land, carpentry and architecture. The third group built canoes and navigate *kalias* on long distance sea-voyages.⁵⁰²

Another source states that all groups of Lo’au lived on the island of Tongatapu and they were Lo’au Tuputoka who lived in Ha’amea (navigator), Tongafusifonua (architect) and Akatoa

⁵⁰⁰ Ralph Linton, *Archaeology of the Marquesas Islands*, vol. Publication No. 10., Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 23 (Honolulu: Bernice Bishop Museum, 1925). 5.

⁵⁰¹ Queen Salote, "Lo'au," (1958-59).

⁵⁰² Makalangahiva, Talanoa, Lapaha, July, 2010.

(prophet) respectively. Tuputoka's daughter Nua married Tu'i Tonga Momo and he had a lake at Ha'amea where he instructed navigators. Ha'amea was also the centre of the *feloeko* – farm of the Tu'i Tonga in Tongatapu. The architect built the *Ha'amonga 'a Maui* and the *'otu langi*-royal tombs. The Lo'auans were the first historiographers and great articulators of Tonga's remembered past. Their main historiographical contribution was the articulation of the oral history of Kava with the items related to its *Tala* for ritualistic formal presentation. That *Tala* placed a sense of unity in the forum presided over by Tu'i Tonga at the Olovaha with all the chiefs of the land as representatives of all *kainangaefonua* from all parts of Tonga.

Research was conducted about Ata and his descendants by Australian scholar Gareth Grainger and a descendant of Ata through Ve'ehala Pasemata Taunisila. *The Ata Chiefs of Hihifo, Tongatapu and the Acceptance of the Christian Lotu in Tonga*, stated that; "Ngata married Kaufo'ou, daughter of the Lo'au-descended *Abome'e Lavakavaoleleva* and by her had many sons."⁵⁰³ This link of 'Ahome'e to the Lo'au depicts the fact that the present Tu'i Tonga Tupou VI who is 'Aho'eitu 'Ulukalala-Lavaka-Ata XVI is a descendant of the Lo'au through his mother Halaevalu Mata'aho, the queen of His Majesty Tu'i Tonga Tupou IV. It thus, also proves the fact that the Lo'au migrants' blood had been grafted deeply into the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga lineages.

Tala-Tukufakabolo further holds that the Lo'au group might have been a later group of migrants who arrived in Tonga, following the first known Tangaloans migrants who were welcomed by 'Ilaheva Va'epopua. Her Majesty's *Ko e Ngaahi Tobi 'o 'ene 'Afio*, 1958-59, (The Writings of Queen Salote) noted:

*'Oku 'ikai ha 'ilo pau ki he tokotaba ko eni ko Lo'au, pe ko e ha'u mei fe, ko hai hano tupu'anga... 'o ngalingali ko ha taba ha'u, pea 'i he tala, 'oku ha 'ene sivilaise 'i he ngaahi fa'u mo e fakakaukau 'i 'o e ngaahi ouau lahi 'o e nofo fakafonua 'a e Tonga ni ko e fa'u 'e Lo'au. Ko e me'a 'oku ha mai na'e ha'u mo 'alu. Hei'ilo pe ko e Lo'au pe he taba na'e tontou ha'u pea ko e foha na'e toki ha'u ki mui.*⁵⁰⁴ [the origin of Lo'au is not known, he is a foreigner, it is evident from his articulation, compositions of major island cultures and architectural knowledge, that he came from a more civilized nation. Tonga owes much of her national practices to his initiatives and creative skills. It is not clear whether he was a single man or his descendants turned up later in Tonga]. (trans. Author).

⁵⁰³ Gareth S.G Grainger and Pasemata Ve'ehala Vi Taunisila, *The Ata Chiefs of Hihifo, Tongatapu and the Acceptance of the Christian Lotu in Tonga* (Bungendore NSW: Gareth Grainger & Pomegranate Press, 2009). 2.

⁵⁰⁴ Salote, "Lo'au."

It is true that the appearance of *Lo'au* in the remembered past of Tonga is sketchy and it is believed that *Lo'au Tuputoka who lived in Ha'amea* most likely came first and taught the people navigation and how to build the *Ha'amonga* for astronomical purposes. *Lo'au Tuputoka's* daughter was *Nua* who marries *Momo* to produce *Tu'itatui*, the first *Tu'i Tonga Lo'au* of the 12th century. Following this, *Tuputoka* group was the *Lo'au Tongafusifonua* who came later to live and built the '*otu langi*. Another source says *Tongafusifonua* was *Tuputoka's* son, but cannot be verified. Attempting to associate this *Tala o Lo'au* with the surviving legacy of the material culture of the *Ha'amonga 'a Maui* and the '*otu Langi* in *Lapaha*, and the *Kava* custom, it shows three possible places *Lo'au* could have come from; *Hawaiki*, *Asia* or *Egypt*. *Linton* noted,

Indeed, it is not improbable that the ancestors of the Polynesians were familiar with the construction of stone-faced terraces before their departure from their Asiatic or Indonesian home land.⁵⁰⁵

The architectural skills *Lo'au* engraved on the material culture of Tonga are reminiscent come from a land with a strong stonemasonry and architectural culture with ancient arts and crafts. This may have originated in *Egypt*,⁵⁰⁶ *Asia* or *Middle East*.

Tongan sculpture *Filipe Tohi* based on his observation of the *Tongan* ancient arts and the stonemasonry works enjoined on the *Ha'amonga 'a Maui* and the '*otulangi* claimed that the *Lo'au* migrants were black people who migrated to the Pacific from *Egypt*. *Tohi* added, that the civilization the *Lo'au* brought to the Pacific were the skills of sculpture (writing), architecture (building) and navigation (nature, space, land and sea). *Tohi* believed that from the *Lo'au*, *Tongan* people inherited those skills of arts and crafts, the art of building, and the art of reading nature, space, land and sea to modern days.

Moulton in his article "Tongans" argued that Polynesian *Tongans* came from the "Persian Gulf"⁵⁰⁷ and in my view the first *Lo'au* migrants comprised the tribe that settled in Tonga before or following the *Tangaloa* migrants who arrived in the 950AD. *Moulton's* hymn composition based on Psalm 72.10, in *Tongan Hymn Book (THB)* 449 says,

*"Lau pe he Tobi Same 'e 'I ai ha ngaahi Hau te nau fakava'eva'e 'I he lotu Tobi Tapu
Ko e ngaahi Tu'i Sapa te nau takimu'a ai labi pe 'enau pa'anga ne nau omi 'o
foaki....'Ilo 'i be 'otu motu 'a e fa'ahinga kuo be. Ngaahi Tu'i Sapa ia na'a nau nofo*

⁵⁰⁵ *Linton*, *Archaeology of the Marquesas Islands*, Publication No. 10. (1925), 5.

⁵⁰⁶ *Tohi* claimed is based on his art viewpoint. *Filipe Tohi*, *Talanoa*, Auckland, 26.03.2015.

⁵⁰⁷ *Moulton*, "Tongans." (1921), 376.

*pe ki Tonga, fai mei Vaihi ki Neu-sila, Mei Tahisi ki Ha'amoā. Ikai kō e toki mana hono fai 'e he 'Otua Tala 'a e 'ulungaanga lauiāfe ta'u 'i mu'a! Taba he fonua ne laka 'o 'ikai ba lea ki ai! Tubu ki he Tu'i Sapa, mo e ngaue te ne fai.'*⁵⁰⁸ [Substantially, the Psalms recorded that the kingly tribe of Zeba/Sheba (Ethiopia) were prominently dedicated figures of Biblical religion, offered great wealth but lost from Palestine and later found in the islands. Tribes of Zeba/Sheba settled in Tonga, Hawaii, New Zealand, Tahiti and Samoa. Miraculously, God inbuilt their religious attitudes thousands of years before, yet still prevailed in the present people's life.] (Trans. Author).

The gist of the above shows how the animated behaviours and attitudes of the tribes of Zeba/Sheba as people of the past were passed down and are being manifested in the present generation, when dealing with wealth, offering, and their religious ethos. It must be stated that Moulton's argument about the origin of the Tongan people is based upon Fornander's theory⁵⁰⁹. Queen Salote noted,

*Ko e 'uluaki ha 'a Lo'au he kuonga 'o e Tu'i Tonga kō Momo, kō e 'ofefine foki 'o Lo'au 'a Nua na'e 'omi kia Momo 'o fanau'i ai 'a Tu'i tatui. Ko Lo'au pe foki na'e tu'utu'uni 'a e ngahi 'o e kava, 'o 'alu mo Fevanga mo Fefafa. 'Oku ngali kō Momo pe kō Tu'itatui na'e 'ave ki ai 'a e Kava.'*⁵¹⁰ [The first appearance of Lo'au was his beautiful daughter Nua, who became the wife of Tu'i Tonga Momo and bore a son Tu'itatui. It was Lo'au who articulated the history of Kava from Fevanga and Fefafa and its ritual for presentation in political forum. It could have been Momo or Tu'itatui to whom the first presentation of Kava ceremonial performance was made.] (Trans. Author)

Three Lo'au lived in Tonga and the first was Lo'au Tuputoka of Ha'amea was believed to be also the great architect of the *Ha'amonga*, and the *'otu langi*. The Lo'au researchers (Lo'auRS) a group of scholars was founded in Sydney, (1999) argued that it was known by the name "*Lēpa 'o Ma'ananga*", their version about the Kava is somewhat different from Salote's version quoted above. Ralph Linton on his *Archaeology of the Marquesas Island* noted,

The Marquesas possessed a surprising skill in stone construction. Although they built no single structure which equalled the finest of the Tongan burial

⁵⁰⁸ Kau Faifekau, *Ko E Tohi Himi 'a E Siasi Uesiliana Tau'atina 'O Tonga*, (Nuku'alofa: The Friendly Island Bookshop 2006). 449.

⁵⁰⁹ Abraham Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race: Its Origin & Migration and the Ancient History of the Hoawaian People to the Time of Kamehemeha I* vol. 2 (London Trubner & Co. Ludgate Hill 1880).; see also Pamela Haight, "A Trustworthy Historical Record: The Later Writing of Abraham Fornander, 1870-1887" (University fo Hawaii 2004).

⁵¹⁰ Salote, "Lo'au."

places (langi) or the great marae of Oborea in Tahiti, the general excellence of their work places them in the first rank of builders.⁵¹¹

Tradition confirms it was Lo'au Ha'amea who is most probably Lo'au Tuputoka (Lo'au Research society claimed this is Lo'au Tuputoka) whose daughter Nua, about whom the famous saying "*Fena pe ka ko Nua*" – "old, as may be, yet she is Nua", said by the 10th Tu'i Tonga Momo became his principal wife. Their son Tu'itatui became the 12th Tu'i Tonga. Lo'au Research Society further noted of the Lo'au,

Traditionally, the word Ma'ananga pointed to the uniqueness of Lo'au's ability to predict upcoming events in the distant future, hence the ancient proverb Toka-i-Ma'ananga (Wisdom of Ma'ananga)⁵¹². Traditions related that the Lo'au lineage conducted a school of navigation in a huge lepa (lake) at Fualu. In light of this skill in social reforms, Lo'au title was regarded as tufunga fonua (carpenter of people [architecture of culture]).⁵¹³

The tradition of Vava'u told a similar version about the phrase of "Toka i Ma'ananga". It is related to the time of the 29th Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata Tele'a, who lived in Ma'ananga. Ian Campbell narrated in his *Classical Tongan Kingships*⁵¹⁴ that 'Uluakimata Tele'a at this time held the title of the Tu'i Tonga, while Mo'ungatonga held the title of the 6th Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. This was also the time when he, (Mo'ungatonga) proposed to the daughter of 'Amalele of Safata Samoa, named Tohu'ia. When married, they began the third line of Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu in approximately 1600 AD.⁵¹⁵

This is most probably the time when the Lo'au migrants left Tonga for good. Queen Salote's *Writing* recorded Lo'au's leaving Tonga to have been referred to in the *Lave o Kae*⁵¹⁶. It is believed that Kae was one of the Lo'au who returned to Tonga afterwards. Salote noted,

Ko e Laulau o Kae 'oku ha ai 'a e 'alu 'a Lo'au. Hei'ilo pe ko Lo'au fe ia, ka ko e folau na'e 'alu ki ha feitu'u momoko. Ko e lau ki he tabi fu'ofu'o'anga, mo e moana vavale, ko

⁵¹¹ Linton, *Archaeology of the Marquesas Islands*, Publication No. 10. 5.

⁵¹² The Vava'u version of Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata Tele'a and his wife Talafaiva story chronicled this tradition of Toka i Ma'ananga is slightly different.

⁵¹³ . Ibid.

⁵¹⁴ Campbell, *Classical Tongan Kingship*.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid. 42.

⁵¹⁶ This *Laulau o Kae* – "Chants of Kae" is also another interesting source of evidences for this visitor to Tonga as referred to in Queen Salote's *Writings* above. I am led to believe that Kae is the proper name of Lo'au, and Lo'au is his Polynesian name where he would be known for. However, the given names of Ha'amea, Tuputoka, and Tongafusifonua were truly Tongan names.

*e 'uu feitu'u ofi ha mo'unga afi (na'a ko N.Z) mo e moana vavale, ko e tabi kuo kamata ke mohe, 'a ia ko e tabi kuo kamata fefeka ke 'aisi.*⁵¹⁷ [this chant of Kae tells of Lo'au's leaving Tonga. It is not known which Lo'au was it but the journey went to the cold place. The sea with pumice was very deep and was near a volcano (may be NZ), the sea was solid with ice.] (Trans. author)

Queen Salote again referred to *Laulau o Kae* stating,

Ko e 'uu fa'u 'a Lo'au 'oku ha 'oku ma'ali mai ha 'atamai 'o Raokaso. (Papalangi nai) 'Oku toe lau ki ha Tu'i ko 'Akatoa 'i be kuonga ia 'o Mataeletu'apiko ko ia 'oku ngali na'a ko ha foha 'o Lo'au na'e foki mai. Ko e tu'unga 'api 'o Loa'u ko ia pe 'eni 'oku 'i ai 'a 'Akatoa....'Oku 'i ai 'a e fetu'utaki 'a e ongo fafine 'a Lo'au...ka 'i be 'ena fakatouputo be tau mo 'ena fanau mo e nofo mo e anga ke fai. Koia 'oku ngali matavai taba pe 'a e mo'ui'anga 'o Nua mo Papa, 'a ia ko ha akonekina 'e ha taba kuo sivilaise. Ko e hingoa 'o Lo'au 'oku ha ko e muli ki be lea Tonga. [Raokoso's theory is apparent in Lo'au's composition. Tu'i Akatoa was also known to have been a son of a previous Lo'au at the time of Mataeletu'apiko. Lo'au's residence was inherited by Akatoa. Two well-known women Nua and Papa and their children and their skills in warfare's were outstanding at the time. Thus, it is suspected they originated from one civilized motherland. It is also evident from Lo'au's name, that he was foreigner, who has come to Tonga from afar.] (trans. Author).

The known progeny of Lo'au in Tonga is Nua. Some source says *Papa* is another but this work has not got enough information of her. Nua was Lo'au Tuputoka's daughter cohabited Momo to be the mother of TT Tu'itatu. Another tradition told that *Taufa Tofua, Fanua Lofanga, and Kava Mo'unga'one* (the three prominent warriors of the northern islands - *Tau Tah*)⁵¹⁸ were all descendants of a later Lo'au but this has yet to be confirmed. So, the significant point here is that Lo'au not

⁵¹⁷ This Queen Salote *Writings* as a source have been used quite extensively by Elizabeth Wood-Ellem in her writings, *Queen Salote of Tonga: The Story of an era, 1900-1965*. (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999). See Salote, "Lo'au." in *Ko e Ngaahi Tohi 'a 'Ene 'Afio*, (1958-59), (The Writings of Queen Salote), TS copies some translated in POP as Unpublished work; also in Bott Spillius papers (box 11, folder 2).

⁵¹⁸ The saying goes "Ha'afeva Tala ki Kotu 'oku mou malie fakamotu!" – was *Taufa'ahau's* respond to the *Tau Tah* – *Kavamo'unga'one*, *Fanualofanga* and *Taufatofua* were the *Ha'apai* warriors in Fiji after the attack on the fort of Kaba in 1853. *Taufa'ahau* and his warriors at the request of *Ratu Cakobau* to assist him in settling the opposition by the fort of Kaba in Viti Levu. *Taufa'ahau* on Christian advice briefed his warriors that his strategy of going to war after the *Tau of Hule*, *Tongatapu* in 1837 is *Puke mo'ui* – capture the victims alive and without harm. However, the *Tau Tah* arrived later in Viti Levu on their *Kalia* named *Lolohea* and *Moatunu* and began the attack on the fort of Kaba. They disrespectfully started to kill the victims as they proceeded. *Taufa'ahau* and his party engaged in war but with great anger at the *Tau Tah* warriors. At the end of the attack *Taufa'ahau* and his warriors were able to settle the unrest but many were killed in all parties engaged. The fort of Kaba was kept under the control of *Cakobau*. On debriefing after the event, the *Tau Tah* were eager to celebrate their victory, but *Taufa'ahau* on the spot pronounced upon them the above stated statement; *Ha'afeva Tala ki Kotu, 'oku mou malie fakamotu!*"- meaning in my view 'Your killing strategy of going to war can only be welcomed and celebrated in *Ha'afeva* and *Kotu*'.

only grafted technical knowledge on merging the history of Kava into the practise of culture, but also infused his blood with Tongan people's blood leaving his legacy on the *Ha'a Tu'i* and *bou'eiki* of Tonga. This work also believed that an indigenous form of democracy was introduced by the Kau Lo'au to Tonga at this time. Thus, we all know that Nua's son Tu'itatui was an extra-ordinary man with power. Nua's two children Tu'itatui and Fasi'apule (son of Ngongokilitoto of Malapo)⁵¹⁹ were both brave men and made significant contributions to the history of Tonga.

On a visit to 'Eueiki, Lo'au made a very timely observation of the two plants, and had a conversation with Fevanga and Fefafa. The Ministry of Education notes on *Ko e Kava*, recorded,

Ne fai pe 'enau talanoa 'o lave ki be 'uhinga 'o 'ena nofo be motu, pea a'u ki be ha'ele ange a e Tu'i Tonga 'o a'u ki ha me'a ke fai ma'a e Tu'i, pea faka'osi'aki 'ena talanoa 'a e ongo ki'I fu'u 'akau ko ia kuo na tautauhi ke fakamanatu 'aki 'ena tama, mo e anga 'ena fakafai'efekebeke'i 'a e huhu'a 'o hono sino. Na'e fuoloa 'aupito 'a e punou fakalongolongo pe 'a Lo'au 'o 'ikai ke lea, pea faifai 'o ne toki hanga hake 'o lea mai 'i he maau 'a ia ko e laulau 'o e Kava mo hono ngaohi 'o pebe.⁵²⁰ [In their conversation, the couple explained clearly to Lo'au the reason why and how they came to live in the island; and even to the visit paid by the Tu'i Tonga to the island and their decision to sacrifice their daughter to pay their homage to the Tu'i. However, the Tu'i refused to accept sacrifice but to let the mount be her graveyard. As they continued, they narrated how the two different plants had grown, one from the head and one from the feet, from which they have proved the different tastes of the sap from them. Lo'au appeared to have been deeply moved by their story, and after a long pause he pronounced the *Laulau 'o e Kava*, - which is the chant of Kava. (Trans. author)].

7.4. The Chants of Kava: *Ko e laulau 'o Kava*.

The sacrifice performed by Fevanga and Fefafa was received as a religious sacrifice. Since it was practised by a *kainangaefonua* to the Tu'i Tonga, as the incarnated *Tu* in place it was a religious act. It offered the Tu'i Tonga and people of the island a sense of sacrifice and spiritual worship. This chant was its prayer, if you may. It is believed that Lo'au Tuputoka articulated the composition to embody all aspects of the Kava sacrifice; the associated items, the rituals of worship. As in David Burley's words about his study of the Tongan dynastic history and the island of Tungua states;

⁵¹⁹ Another source suggests that Ngongo Kilitoto was the son of Momo (son of 'Apuanea) and Kalikiheva'e, the daughter of the Feta'o named Kefu Kaitamaiki who lived at Valefanau, beach of Kolovai, Hihifo. See Nanasipau'u, 'Ahio, and Latu, *Ko E Ta'u 'E 190 'O E Fale Ko Cokevernal li 'I He 'Api Ko Ameloke, Kolovai, Tonga*. (2016). 40-1.

⁵²⁰ Anonymous, *Ko E Kava Mo E Ngaahi Koloa Fakatonga*.

“On the intersection of myth, narrative, genealogy and the landscape....”⁵²¹ I see in the *Laulau o Kava* that intersection of myth, narrative, genealogy and the items on landscape for this study of Tala-Tukufakaholo of Tonga. It also resembles a message for political unification of all lineages, *‘eiki* and *matapule*. Reading this “*Laulau O Kava*”, in my view, is the introduction of a democratic form of governance for Tonga. This chant was articulated and graphed as a piece of her & his-story.

The chant of Kava stated;

KAVA KO E KILIA MEI FAA’IMATA (KAVA, THE LEPER FROM FAA’IMATA)

KO E TAMA ‘A FEVANGA MO FEFABA (THE DAUGHTER OF FEVANGA AND FEFABA)

FAHIFAHU PEA MAMA (CHOPPED AND CHEWED)

HA TANO’A PEA MO HONO ANGA (A BOWL DICTATES ITS PROTOCOL)

HA PULU MO HONO TATA (A STRAINER AND ITS POCKET)

HA PELU KE TAU’ANGA (A CUP FOR ITS SERVE)

HA ‘EIKI KE NE ‘I HE ‘OLOVAHA (A TU’I TO BE SEATED AT ITS APEX)

HA MU’A KE NE ‘I HE ‘APA’APA (THE CHIEFS TO BE ITS FLANKS)

FAPA’KI ‘A E FAKATAUMAFU⁵²² (READY TO SERVE THE TU’I AND THE FORUM)

(Translation, author)

This commentary on the chronicle of *Kava* uses the Law of association, as Hau’ofa says;

And when we go through our own surroundings, as we do every day, familiar features of our landscapes keep reminding us that the past is alive. They often inspire in us a sense of reverence and awe, not to mention that of fear and revulsion.⁵²³

⁵²¹ Burley, "Sacred Child and Sacred Place: On the Intersection of Myth, Narrative, Genealogy and Landscape for the Study of Dynastic Tongan History."

⁵²² *Ko e Kava mo e ngaahi Koloa FakaTonga*, (Nuku’alofa: Ko e Paaki ‘e he Ofisi Ako ‘a e Siasi Uesiliana Tau’ataina ‘o Tonga, n.d.) 2.

⁵²³ Hau’ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember." in *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts" an Invitation to Remake History*, ed. R Borofsky (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000). 467.

I will correlate the received *Tala 'o Kava* with the surviving “routes” “land-scapes” and “sea-lanes” in Hau’ofa’s terms in the Ocean. The material culture on land is evident when we can essentially *bolomui ki mu’a* – in a reverse way ‘walk backwards to the future’. We walk forward to the past to a point of time-space where the past imparts its *Tala-Tukufakaholo* wealth of facts upon us. The six-partite dimensions of Tongan culture provide the well encapsulated holistic formation of the *Tala 'o e Kava* – His & Her story of Kava.

The later part of the chapter will explicate (on) the Kava protocol and how *Lo’au Tuputoka* of Ha’amea had set it up as a political forum in indigenous form for governance. It is rooted in the true spirit of commoners’ sacrificial love to honour their *Tu’i* – the apex of Tongan society; the sacrificial spirit enjoined in the heart of the original couple *Fevanga* and *Fefafa* prevails in every aspect of the Kava forum. Anyone willing to ridicule this conjoined sacrificial spirit may not experience – and will be devoid of the rich experience so engraved in the sacrifice of Kava as a form of worth-ship. Thus, the chronicle is a real grafting of not only ideas, wisdoms, and indigenous philosophies, but of religious values and worth-ship beliefs. It also suggests the Kava forum and its setting as a way of democratic governance worth considering. Appreciatively, the Kava mix sought to holistically engage the whole being of a person – minds, hearts, emotions, senses and experiences of people in the sacrificial realities of the past. Drink a cup full of Kava and experience for yourself, how far back into the past it will take you for a journey. The sacrificial story will be unfolded unto one’s mind and heart when the Kava beverage permeates one’s blood and system. Kava will offer your heart and mind a sound and deep rest.

7.5. Commentary on the Chant of Kava:

KAVA KO E KILIA MEI FAA’IMATA (KAVA, THE LEPER FROM FAA’IMATA)

KO E TAMA ‘A FEVANGA MO FEFAFA (A DAUGHTER OF FEVANGA AND FEFAFA)

What stands out in the above composition of the *Tala 'o e Kava* - chant of Kava is the ability of *Lo’au Tuputoka* of Ha’amea to embody in its grafting an intersection of myth, orality, items from the land, landscape, and genealogy. The History of Kava is a graft of the history, items and the associated ritual. The presentation is holistic in its sense as it integrated the *Tala* remembered pasts which had been *Tuku* placed upon the heart of the people who dwelt upon the land, to essentially embrace its root in the sacrificial love of the common people to the *Tu’i* Tonga – as god in place of Tonga. That sacrificial love in essence depicted *faka’apa’apa* – the forms of deep reverence and awe experience, enjoined within the hearts of *kainangaefonua* the down to earth class of the society. The reverence expressed by *Fevanga* and *Fefafa* towards their *Tu’i* is felt within the forum - *Tu* - god

in place. Such deep emotional experiences may, if applied in today's logic find no place but to be labelled as old and unscientific. But what does the new offer in order to make sense of the old? Suppress, marginalize and colonize?

The Tongan people of the twentieth century as according to HM. Queen Salote are experiencing a *kailu* – confused stage. The report of the Colloquium about Pacific Education stated it had failed to produce the kind of people the Pacific needed. Is it real Pacific Education or rather, should it be called the Pacific knowledge being framed by Western strategies and education frameworks? For Education, shall we keep on the old wineskin for the new wine, or the old wine in a new wineskin? Perhaps, as Hau'ofa suggested, "...it is the old one in the new guise".⁵²⁴

The first double line depicted the original place of *Faa'imata* – which is the symbolic name for Tungua island.⁵²⁵ Its meaning reads 'torching the eyes of the visitors with fire to clear the demon spirit'. Tongan people believed that demon spirits dwell in the eyes of human persons. *Faa'imata* is located at the *Matafuefue* – the 'seascape where the land ends, the sea begins', on the beach of *Tungua* in the Ha'apai islands, Tonga,⁵²⁶ from whence and where came the lady *Kava*, the leper. Hau'ofa stated, "Our landscapes and seascapes are thus cultural as well as physical. We cannot read our histories without knowing how to read our landscapes (and seascapes)."⁵²⁷ My great grandfather is the son of Haveatungua from the island of Tungua, and I feel what is being written here now about the ritualistic practices performed by people who came to the island. As Albert Wendt says; "Inside us the dead."⁵²⁸ Our ancestors are buried within us, and to speak of them we speak together from within us.

The *Faa'imata* is in *Naboki* but the residence of *Havea Tungua* is in *Vatwaka* where the grave of *Tamaha* is in the heart of the village near the beach of *Louvai*. The island name was *Ha'ateiho Lahi* until the time of *Tapu'osi* and the Fijians when the island was known as *Tungua* – clear water. *Faa'imata* and *Tainamu 'o Paea* are both in *Louvai* facing *Ha'afeva* island (north). According to *Tu'ihalafatai Veikune* (brother of *Salesi Veikune*, late *Tu'i Ha'ateiho*) leprosy was a common disease

⁵²⁴ Ibid. 454.

⁵²⁵ See Burley, "Sacred Child and Sacred Place: On the Intersection of Myth, Narrative, Genealogy and Landscape for the Study of Dynastic Tongan History."

⁵²⁶ Tu'ihalafatai Veikune, 'Okalani, 2004,

⁵²⁷ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember." 466.

⁵²⁸ Wendt, "Inside Us the Dead ".

in Fiji at the time. *Fevanga* mo *Fefafa* were Fijian whose daughter the leper was named *Kava*. They decided to escape and lived in a far island because of their daughter *Kava* who was a leper.

Tungua has the finest water spring in the Ha'apai group. Almost all northern and south-bound voyages must stop in Tungua for water.

The eastern site of the island of *Tungua* facing *Ha'afeva* island, the name in a literal sense is encapsulated in the question *Ko e ha'a fe'ena 'oku 'eva hake ki Ha'ateiho Labi?* (Ha'afeva) – (which lineage is it that are lining up on queue to land at Faa'imata?) The Ocean space to the north of Tungua running towards the volcano island of Tofua is known as the *Tainamu 'a Paea* – 'the net of the loners'. Imagine the various clans from all over the Pacific who came to pay tributes to the Tu'i Tonga and the highest Tapu person of Tonga at the time – the Tamaha during the Katoanga 'Inasi. They were drifting in communities, claiming no one would be a loner there and then. Imaginably, it was a joyful gathering of people upon the Ocean. The surrounding islands of Tungua bore on their names what Hau'ofa further described, "How often, while travelling through unfamiliar surroundings, have we had the experience of someone in the company of telling us of the association of particular spots or other features of the landscape traversed with past events."⁵²⁹ Placing Tungua Island and the Tamaha in the context of the Tongan hierarchical society, The Pacific historian Elizabeth Wood-Ellem described,

The personal/absolute rank of the aristocracy (*hou'eiki*) was derived from descent from the Tu'i Tonga; even higher rank from his eldest sister, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (female Ruler of Tonga); and highest of all from her eldest daughter (the Tamaha). Tongan society was like a pyramid, reflecting this pattern, each person rank in relation to all others, the sister outranking the brother, and her descendants outranking his and so on.⁵³⁰

Tamaha was the absolute Tapu person and all *kainga* must pay tribute to her on Tungua Island. For each clan who came to pay tribute to the Tamaha must be *Fakafotufotu-ha'a* – 'congregated in clans', waiting for their turns to visit her in tribe. They congregated for days, and even weeks until they presented their tributes to the Tamaha before they *Matuku* – 'returned' to their respective islands at the end of the occasion.⁵³¹ These names encapsulate all islanders in the area surrounding Tungua. The occasions of the clans' departures from Tungua, the farewell message uttered as a

⁵²⁹ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember."

⁵³⁰ See Wood-Ellem, *Queen Salote of Tonga: The Story of an Era, 1900-1965*. 17-8.

⁵³¹ Matuku is an island to the north of Tunga, and is also tofi'a of Havea Tungua. Kotu and Ha'afeva are located to the north-west and Fotuha'a, Tofua and Kao on extreme north-west and eastern locations.

prayer for safe journeys back to their respective islands is *Ko Tu!* – God is your refuge. This was where Kotu island’s name derived from.

FAHIFAHİ PEA MAMA (CHOPPED UP AND CHEWED)

HA TANO’A PEA MO HONO ANGA (THE BOWL DICTATES ITS PROTOCOL)

Lo’au on the next couplet highlighted a shift of compositional form from ‘Kava as a person’ to ‘Kava as the plant’. Or rather it may symbolically refer to the sacrifice performed by the parents of their only daughter for a meal. It is already stated that at the course of Fevanga and Fefafa watching with care the grave of their sacrificed daughter Kava, two different plants sprouted from the head and the foot. Kava (*piper methysticum sp*) was the plant that grew from the head and *To* – sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum sp.*) the plant sprouted from the foot. Lo’au informed Fevanga and Fefafa, to uproot the two plants and to chop and chew them. *Tala-Tukufakabolo* holds the story of *fahifahi pea mama* – of Kava and in the old days, the Kava roots were chewed (not pounded) by the servants and spat to the bowl. Kau’ulufonua who sought the assassins of his father Takalaua in Uvea commanded the two assassins to *mama* – chew the fibre, as the beginning of their penalty.

Kau’ulufonua punished them by ordering to *mama* - chew the *Kava kuo fahifahi* – ‘they would drink the blood of their own killing.’ Tamasia and Malofafa chewed the Kava to the point where their whole teeth were uprooted together with blood from the gums poured onto the bowl. After which Kau’ulufonua drank the whole mix in honour of his dead father. Kau’ulufonua afterwards killed them and from then onward, his name was affixed with the suffix “Fekai” – savagery as *Kau’ulufonuafekai*.

But from another angle, the symbolic meaning – the words “fahifahi pea mama” – may also refer, on another level of interpretation, to the actual event of sacrificing one’s daughter, and baking in the ‘umu which reflected the Fijian tradition of ‘*umutangata*. Tu’ihalafatai Veikune, brother of the late Tu’i Ha’ateiho Salesi confirmed and acknowledged that Fevanga and Fefafa were Fijians who had migrated to Tungua. *Kilia* – leprosy was a common disease of the Fijians at the time and offering a human sacrifice was a common Fijian tradition. The human sacrifice of offering their daughter to the *Tu’i Tonga* recollected the kind of sacrificial love of the past generations which appeared to be common in Fiji and Tonga at the time.

Elsdon Best cited Thomas Williams on *Fiji and Fijians*, writes,

A chief has been known to kill several men for rollers, to facilitate the launching of his canoes, the 'rollers' being afterwards cooked and eaten. (For

"rollers" read "skids.")... These people allowed their guests to be surprised in the night, when forty were captured, and each being bound hand and foot to the stems of banana-trees, were then laid as rollers, face uppermost, along the path by which the canoes were to be dragged across the isthmus. The shrieks of the victims were drowned by the hauling-songs of their captors, and, with one exception, all were crushed to death. One poor wretch lingered a while in torture till the ovens were made ready, in which all were cooked.⁵³²

It must be stated that the reason of referring this event to Fijian culture is because of the connection of Tungua island to the Fijian chiefs through the inter-marriage of the Vacivaci chief Tapu'osi and *Tu'i Tonga Fefine Sinaitakalailangileka*, the daughter of the 29th Tu'i Tonga Tele'a. With great respect, this discussion does not mean, in anyway, to downplay the culture and the tradition of Fiji and their people's worldview. I have referred to some incidences of human sacrifices most especially commoners who were so willing to sacrifice their lives to be buried together with their Tu'i in the history of Tonga in an earlier chapter of the thesis. Such tradition indicates great courage and dedication of the people to their cause in life as in the sacrifice, expressed by Fevanga and Fefafa to their Tu'i.

iv. Lo'au's composition of Tala 'o Kava: further comments.

HA PULU MO HONO TATA (A STRAINER AND ITS POCKET)

HA PELU KE TAU'ANGA (A CUP FOR ITS SERVE)

The *Tala 'o Kava* also commenced of this very significant period where contemporary knowledge was grafted together with indigenous beliefs and values, for a socio-political purpose. The engraved meanings in the whole composition should encapsulate the human sacrifice of Kava. The means of mixing Kava was inappropriate; the way of *mama* - chewing of Kava and a *pulu* – strainer from coconut husk for *tata* – straining the fibre for the mix. *Pulu* refers to coconut fibre, the commonly used material for sifting dirt from a mix. In a much later time, the bark of *fau*, hibiscus sp. was prepared for straining the fibre from the mix. Kava roots must have been chewed, or pounded with stones to dust form and placed upon the *tano'a* - bowl. The term is quite familiar with another term *tano*, meaning the dust, or simply the place where the dusts of the dead people rests in the graves. The common phrase is the *Fakatapu* – salutations and honour (not acknowledgement) in a funeral at the graveyard. The speaker pronounced this statement *Tapu ki he efu 'o tano mo e va'e 'o Matoka* – meaning 'we salute and honour with respect the "dust of the deads" (Tano), and *va'e o*

⁵³² As cited by [Elsdon Best](http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Bes01Reli-t1-body-d5-d2-d3.html) in Maori Religion and Mythology Part 1 "Human Sacrifice for a New Canoe", <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Bes01Reli-t1-body-d5-d2-d3.html> (accessed 15 June, 2013).

Matoka – “the legs of the Kava bowl”. This indicates a connection between the “blood of the ancestors and the Kava we drink in ceremony”. It may be referring to as Hau’ofa stated “Kava in the Kava bowl”.

Another view says that *tano’a* is a Samoan word for *kumete* - the Kava bowl. This may be an indication of a Samoan connection where there is some Samoan element in the ritual of mixing Kava, or the mix embraced the tripartite islands of Fiji, Samoa on Tongan soil. Or rather Loau had come from Hawaiki through Samoa to Tonga.

Another view suggests that Lo’au’s way of grafting his composition employed terms from around the Pacific, to indicate that Kava was a Pacific (Melanesia and Polynesian) social reality that bound all people together. The *tano’a* has its own *anga* – protocol. When the chewed Kava is mixed in the *tano’a*, the *tou’a* - server performed the ritual for its mixing in compliance with the direction given by the *Fakatanala - matapule fai fatongia* (master of ceremony in the Kava forum).

The scoop to deliver the Kava mix is called *pelu* meaning it is folded leaves that scoop the *kava* as a cup. The serving is called *fakatau* from which the term *tau’anga* – hanger is being derived. An *Eiki* – meaning a person with the highest sacred blood is to be seated at the apex of the *Kava* circle. *Eiki* in literal term means, a person with *toto’i ‘eiki*. The most sacred male person of the Tongan hierarchical society is the *Tu’i Tonga*. *Olovaha* designated the place of the circle that is allocated as the pinnacle of the society – there seated the *Tu’i Tonga*. It has often been argued from the *Kauhala’uta*, that the present *Tu’i* is not a *Tu’i Kanokupolu* – rather he is in person a *Tu’i Tonga* because of the enmeshed *toto’i ‘eiki*. The person of the present *Tu’i* and his descendants are successive embodiments of the four different lineages of the *Ha’a Tu’i Tonga*, *Ha’a Tu’i Takalaua*, *Ha’a Tu’i Kanokupolu*, and the last *Ha’a Tu’i Tonga Tupou*. As the blood had been enmeshed in the *Tu’i* of *Tonga* person through inter-marriages of earlier generation before the present *Tu’i* – the honour is an elevation of status.

HA ‘EIKI KE NE ‘I HE ‘OLOVAHA (A TU’I TO BE SEATED AT ITS APEX)

HA MU’A KE NE ‘I HE ‘APA’APA (ONLY THE MU’A PERSONS BE SEATED ON THE FORUM)

The *Taumafa Kava* (Kava forum) of *Ha’a Tu’i Tonga* was always prepared for the highest *‘eiki* who is the *Tu’i*. The *Mu’a* – refers to hybridized chiefly persons through a cohabitation between a *Tu’i* or *‘eiki* with a *Kainangaefonua* lady and a progeny is being produced. The progeny is called the *Mu’a*, thus the name of the old capital, because it was the place where that particular class of the society resided. It is the *Tu’i Tonga* domain and half caste *Mu’a* people live. Only chiefs and half

caste chiefs presided the two 'apa'apa of the Kava forum circle. The Kauhala'uta protocol of serving the Kava is known as FULITAUNGA – meaning the *taunga* (hangar) of the *tano'a* is to be placed facing the 'Olovaha. This means that the ultimate honour of this Kava forum occasion was directed to the 'Tu'i – 'Olovaha god in place.

7.6. The Three Pili – ropes of the Kalia Tonga.

The three main ropes that bound the Olovaha, the Navigator and the passengers on board the Kalia Tonga are known as PILI. As according to Makalanghaiiva of Lapaha, they were ropes of *fai fatongia* at sea by the three main offices of the Folau Kalia. The first rope is called the PILI E OLOVAHA. That Pili was thrown to the sea and laid between the two Katea. That Pili was only for the 'Tu'i and his family. They use that Pili for bathing or other activities, when going overboard the kalia. No one was allowed to use that Pili, except the 'Tu'i and his family.

The second rope was known as PILI E TAUALA. It was thrown to sea on the left-hand side of the Kalia. That Pili was for the use of navigators and crews on board. The navigators and crew are the ones who *fakatauala* and *akatana'un* the kalia's journey at sea. The third rope was known as PILI E FAKATAUHALA. e It is called as Faka'Tauhala – because it is the rope for the burser and all people, including visitors and foreigners. This is the longest rope that is thrown to sea and another name for it is called the SAVE. -Save is for anyone who may be lost to sea, is advised to come back through the Pili e Tauhala (Save). From sea voyaging and Kalia navigational protocol, these Pili were translated into the formation of the Taumafa Kava protocol in the FULITAUNGA WAY – the Kauhala'uta way.

The three distinctive PILI - ropes are tied to the hangar of the tano'a, and were laid on the circular plain of the Taumafa Kava – Kava forum. The three ropes retained their names from navigational protocol as PILI. i. The *Pili e Olovaha* – the ropes that connects from the hangar of the Tano'a and leads on straight to the 'Tu'i at the Olovaha - apex of the Kava Forum. ii. The second PILI is known as the *Pili e Tauala* which connects from the hangar to the *matapule Fakatauala* – navigator and commander in chief of the Kava forum. iii. The third PILI is *Pili e FakaTaubala* which is connected from the hangar to the *matapule Fakataubala* – who represents all citizens of the land and people of the nation, including *Sola and Vulangi* - visitors and foreigner. The Taumafa Kava o Kauhala'uta operates in the Fulitaunga way, and was a transference of the sea navigational protocols to the forum of governance. Whether this protocol was a coinage of the Lo'auans or the 'Tu'i themselves, no one knows. However, what is outstanding here is the formality and the ma'opo'opo – strategic system of binding the people in one heart. The 'Tu'i, chiefs and the people

cooperatively worked together to see for themselves social and political unity. The inclusiveness of the protocol is quite amazing, symbolized in the PILI e Tauhala which was the *Save-* to save any life that is in danger.

Differently, the protocol of *Taumafa Kava* at *Kauhalalalo* is known as a MILOLUA. This is Samoan protocol is peculiarly known as Milolua fakamuifonua – a Samoan protocol and procedures. Different hand gestures and performances of the *tou'a* – mixer and server of Kava symbolically present a story in respond to the *angi*-command of the *matapule fakatauala* – master of ceremony in the forum. Where the *Fulitaunga* is performed and its *angaikava* calling the Kava, *Kava e kuo beka!* The *matapule FakaTauala* as master of ceremony distributes the Kava to the seated forum. The command says, '*Aa ee Kava 'a* - 'this cup serve of Kava belongs to....'. (name of the chief) for the *Kauhala'uta Fulitaunga* protocol. This statement pronounced by *Fulitaunga* as '*Aa ee Kava ...* claims a definitive possession of the Kava by *Kauhala'uta* as their own crafting and the expression emphasises the concept of ownership of the Kava and its protocol.

Whereas, the Milolua Kava protocol does it differently (though similar) - the *matapule* calls "*Kava e kuo beka!*"- the serve is ready, and the responder *Matapule Fakatauala* commands '*Ave ia ma'a*'Take or present it to....' For Milolua pronounced '*Ave* means 'permit me to take the Kava outside of the house of *Kauhala'uta* to the west of Tonga (Kanokupolu). Because Ha'a Takalaua have ordered the Ha'a Ngata and Tui Kanokupolu to move out from the eastern Tu'i Tonga domain of Mu'a, Tongatapu to Western end of Tongatapu. Hence, the command for their Kava serving will say '*Avee*' – "Take it out". It does connote an order of take to afar distance from *Kauhala'uta*. While the Kanokupolu ask for permission to take the Kava of the domain and *Tala o Kauhala'uta* to Hihifo; the *Kauhala'uta* comfortably enjoy their own and say '*A eee Kava 'a....* signified Kava is their own property in the purview of the *Tala o Kauhala'uta*. To take it out of our world one must be permitted.

The Mu'a class were either maternally or paternally related to the *Fale 'o e Tu'i* – Tu'i Tonga nuclear family. Only by a *Mu'a* that is permitted to be seated on the '*apa'apa* – and to *Fakatauala* - master the ceremony of the Kava forum. *Fakatauala* and his words are final in the whole ceremony. He does all the talking – in directing the *Tou'a*- performer of the ritual of mixing the Kava. The associated movements, performances, and presentations within the forum are commanded by the *Mu'a* on the '*apa'apa*. All chiefly lineages of the society are represented in this political forum. each member takes a cup of ava when comes to ones turn. Drinking that one cup of Kava indicates one's submission to the command of the Olovaha for unity and prosperity of the fonua – 'people and the land". Thus, is the meaning of the statement; "*Malu e fonua pea kei lanumata e tu'anini 'i*

Pangai!” – Peace is upon the land and the social obligations have all been fulfilled. In the Taumafa Kava Milolua the Hihifo people sang their song which goes;

Ko Hihifo kuo laka kae mahu ai Tonga; ko e me’a pe ua kuou [‘ilo]; ko e vale
pe mo e tu’apiko. Ko ‘ilo’i tu’unga ko au, Tu’aliku ‘o Valefanau.”(*Hihifo has
progressed, thereby Tonga has prospered, I have found only two things, the fool and the
humpback, I am the known foundation, From the Coast of Valefanau.*⁵³³

“The Tau’a’alo ‘o e Kava ki Pangai ko e Ta’anga ‘oku hiva’i ‘e Hihifo ‘i he Fakapangai” – in rowing their kalia and singing with laughter and joy on their journey towards Pangai, this song is sung by the people of Hihifo. It expressed their total loyalty and submissions to their chiefs and Tu’i for the duties and obligations they perform with joy to their Fonua.⁵³⁴

The presentation of Kava must always be associated with its partner plant, which is the *To* - sugar cane as its *fono* – quencher. The *Kava* beverage is sour and the sugar cane quenched sour taste and feelings. Thus, when one enters the forum, some commands of the forum would be sour but in the end, it will all be quenched by the sweetness of *To* – humbling oneself under *Tu’i-Tonga* – god in place. The meaning of the term *To* is “to fall”, or “to humble oneself” as in *Fakatokilalo*. The sour and bitterness of the dialogue in the forum and society can be quenched by a humble heart – as being rooted in the sacrifice of Kava.

FA’AKI ‘A E FAKATAUMAFA⁵³⁵ (SERVE FOR THE TUI TONGA COMMUNION)

Thus, this is how the Taumafa Kava is being prepared and served to the Tu’i Tonga and his communion of Hou’eiki - chiefs of all estates holders on the land as representatives of various lineages, estates and kainga of the land. *Taumafa* is the honoured regal word for the eating and the drinking of the Tu’i. However, when all representatives participate in the kava forum they are honoured to partake together in the Tu’i’s Taumafa and communion. Whether Lo’au or the Tu’i himself used the term *Taumafa* for the Kava ceremony – its usage is an honour. Rendering the whole ceremony as *Taumafa Kava* is a memoir for the sacrificial love offered by Kava the leper to

⁵³³ Ko e Tau’a’alo ki Pangai ‘a Ata ‘i he Taumafa Kava. Gifford, *Tongan Society: Bernice P. Bishop Museum*, Bulletin 61, . (1929), 97.

⁵³⁴ Nanasipau’u, ‘Ahio, and Latu, *Ko E Ta’u ‘E 190 ‘O E Fale Ko Cokevernal Ii ‘I He ‘Api Ko Ameloke, Kolovai, Tonga*. (2016), 40.

⁵³⁵ *Ko e Kava mo e ngaahi Koloa FakaTonga*, (Nuku’alofa: Ko e Paaki ‘e he Ofisi Ako ‘a e Siasi Uesiliana Tau’ataina ‘o Tonga, n.d.) 2.

the Tu'i of Tonga.⁵³⁶ One who partake in it should envision this sacrifice and feel the love of a daughter to honour the decision of her parent and most importantly to honour her Tu'i. The more one drinks Kava's highly concentrated mix, the nature of the Kava's leprous scaly skins will somehow appear on the drinker's skin. That is something which may resemble what Hau'ofa stated as "blood in the Kava bowl"⁵³⁷, and Samoan scholar Wendt stated, "Inside us the dead".⁵³⁸ We drink the Kava and it brings the inside out through our skin.

7.7. Taumafa Kava: A national symbol of union and democratic governance.

Whether, the whole Taumafa Kava ceremony was presented in the Kanokupolu *Milolua* protocol or the Kauhala'uta *Fulitaunga* way, it is a symbol of national unity. At a debate on the Kava ban by the Australian government, a Tongan woman scholar testified, "Long live.... the kava! a symbol of unity of the community."⁵³⁹ The Kava forum invests a sense of communion among the three groups of citizens that made up the Tongan hierarchy; Tui, (*Olovaha*) 'eiki (*'apa'apa*) and kainangaefonua (*matapule*). The presence of each group in the forum make up what I term as an indigenous democratic form of governance. They resemble the communal setting of the people's living in the society and their presence represented the members of their lineages in the society. Thus, from the latest Taumafa Kava of Tu'i Tonga Tupou V, the seating designated 15 hou'eiki on left 'alofi – row, and 14 hou'eiki on the right 'alofi were all flanked by matapules with six (6) hou'eiki as *Tou'a* 'eiki – the chiefly server, which all together add up to 36 hou'eiki who represent all lineages in Tonga.

The *hou'eiki* - chiefs on the left 'alofi (of the *Olovaha*) were seated in order from the *'apa'apa* headed by Lauaki who flanked the *Olovaha*, are; *Nuku* (*Kolonga*), *Fielakepa* (*Haveluloto*), *Tu'ilakepa* (*Ofu*), *Tu'iba'ateiho* (*Ha'ateiho* and *Tungua*), *Fakafanua* (*Ma'ofanga*), *Tu'i'Afitu* (*Makave*, *Holopeka*, *Fonoifua*), *Malupo* (*Uiba*), *Tu'iba'angana* (*Ha'ano*), *Tuita* (*Tongoleleka*), *Fakatulolo* (*Falevai*), *Akauola* (*Taunga*),

⁵³⁶ I acknowledge the work of James & Meliame Cocker.

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Taumafa_Kava.jpg

⁵³⁷ Hau'ofa, "Blood in the Kava Bowl".

⁵³⁸ Wendt, "Inside Us the Dead."

⁵³⁹ Daphne Taukolonga Lemeki, former student of Atenisi High School, representative of Sioeli Nau Mission Inc.(SNM) in Sydney - SNM is a Registered Education Agent of the NSW Government - Australia - Dept. of Education & Community Services, in Tonga. (from online debate initiated by the Lo'au University. (accessed 06.05.2015).

Fulivai (Hunga), *Veikune* (Longomapu and Longoteme), *Ve'ehala* (Fahefa), and *Ata* (Kolovai), and *Tovi* who is not an 'eiki but seated to mark the *Hala* - way into the forum. Tovi's statement would always be announcing – *Ko e hala 'eni* – I am the way.

The designated seats of the 14 'eiki with their *matapule* on the right 'alofi was headed by Motu'apuka, the master of the forum, and who flanked the Olovaha – Tu'i Tonga are; *Niukapu* (Fangale'ounga), *Tu'ipelehake*, (*Pelehake*), *Fotofili* (*Lapaha*, *Niuafu'ou*), *Luani* (*Malapo* & *Tefisi*), *Lavaka* (*Bea*), *Tu'ivakano* (*Nukunuku*), *Fobe* (*Puke*), *Lasike* (*Lakepa*), *Fotu* (*Leimatu'a*), *'Ahome'e* (*Ha'avakatolo*), *Tu'ubetoka* (*Ha'afeva*), *Ma'afu* (*Vaini*), *Vaha'i* (*Fo'ui* & *Ta'anea*), *Mobulamu* (*Fua'amotu*). The seven (7) hou'eiki who control the protocol of mixing from the Tou'a – mixer and server are, *Baron Vaea* of Houma, who are flanked on the front by *Tangipa* (*Niutopotapu*) on the right 'alofi and *Fusitu'a* (*Niuafu'ou*) from the left 'alofi, whom parallel on the backside were the four hou'eiki; *Kalanivalu* (*Lapaha*), *Ulukalala* (*Feletoa*), *Tungi* (*Mu'a*), and *Tupouto'a* (*Nomuka* & *Utulau*).

These hou'eiki and their *matapule* attendants were representatives of various estates and *kainagaefonua* from all over Tonga. Thus, this Kava forum ensured the good spirit and union of all lineages and *kainga* in one accord, and no outlaw on the land would challenge the Tu'i as the ruler of the Tu'i-dom of Tonga. The whole circle of the Kava forum together with their Tu'i at Olovaha symbolized the *Fonua* – the people, the island politic and governance and cultural interactions.

His Majesty Tu'i Tonga Tupou I in the 1875 Tonga Constitution appointed 30 nobles⁵⁴⁰ (from chiefs) together with 6 *matapule ma'u tofi'a* (attendants were estate holders). Two more nobles were appointed by Tu'i Tonga Tupou II and H.M. Kuini Salote Tupou III appointed one more noble. According to Elizabeth Wood-Ellem,

[H.M.] Tupou I did not intend hereditary estate holders to be landowners (the constitution stated he owned all the land), but to be trustees, who were granted a small portion of their estates as personal holdings and require to distribute the remainder of their estate to the people. However, the hereditary estate holders behave like landowners.⁵⁴¹

Thus, there are 33 chiefs who were only trustees of the land owned by Tu'i alone, but somehow act as landowners, altogether seated in the Taumafa Kava forum. The whole 33 are chiefs holding

⁵⁴⁰ The term noble is title by birth to aristocracy or elevated to the office by good work, whereas chief is not a title rather it depict a person with blood of toto'I 'eiki – sacred blood.

⁵⁴¹ See the "Glossary" in Wood-Ellem, *Queen Salote of Tonga: The Story of an Era, 1900-1965*. (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), 303.

estates, together with 6 *matapule ma'u tofi'a*, - commoners with estates, with 100 *matapule* – chief's attendants on the left *'alofi*, and 106 *matapule* – chief's attendants on right *'alofi*. The whole are representatives of various *kainga* and *tofi'a* estates and common people of all over Tonga. Their share of the Kava meant they commit to their responsibilities of keeping the people in peace and wellbeing. Their drink of Kava reminded them of the principal root of the original sacrifice by Kava the leper – to humble oneself in honour of the fonua. The Kava plant has been used as a means of fellowship and unity, holding all others in one political accord and solidarity. Having drunk the cup symbolized they all accept the call to comply with the policies of sacrificing for the welfare of the *Tala-Tukufakabolo e Fonua* and the bond of *Tala'a Kainga* - inter-relationships and their respective *fatongia* - obligations.

The Ministry of Education note *Ko e Kava* endorsed the work of Lo'au as historio-grapher of the history of Kava. Studying the actual composition itself takes a researcher into a deeper level of understanding how oral history, practice and custom of reverence were being grafted and intertwined with ideas and policies of the ritual to summon the *Tu'i* and *Hon'eiki* flanked by their *matapule* to be seated in the forum for a presentation. In actuality, the three classes of the hierarchy of *Tu'i*, *Hon'eiki* and *Kainangaefonua* are well represented. This may mean democracy in indigenous form. By this I mean, every Ha'a and kainga are being represented by the 'eiki and *matapule* in the Kava forum. An opportunity is also given for them to voice any concern from their corner of life. Still the voice of the past is echoed and the present generation do justice to the call.

It further summed up the *Tala 'o Kava* by stating,

'Oku mahu'inga ke fai ha polepole 'i he tala mahu'inga ko eni, 'o e fa'unga 'o e fonua, he 'oku na hoboamalie pe mo e anga 'o e mo'ui, ke te fua inu hono kona pea toki a'usia hono melie 'oka fuoloa 'a e kataki. 'Oku to'oa ho tau loto...he faka'ali'ali 'e he ongo matu'a ni 'a e sipinga mo'ui ma'olunga 'o toki 'a'asili 'ene ngingila 'i he a'u mai 'a e buelo 'o e Lotu Kosipeli, 'o bulu'i ke maamangia ai e ngaahi fonua kehe 'i he ouau 'o e mo'ui fakaTonga.⁵⁴² [One can be proud of this very significant history of Kava, which have rooted in the architecture of our land and culture, for us to, first taste the sour part of our traditional customs before we actually enjoy the sweeter part of life – The Gospel. Thus, we are being blessed by the sacrificial love of the couple (Fevanga and Fefafa), and their show of the highest virtue based upon values of life, which make the Gospel of Jesus Christ more meaningful to our ignorant minds. (translator – author)

⁵⁴² Anonymous, *Ko E Kava Mo E Ngaahi Koloa Fakatonga*. (Nuku'alofa: Potungaue Ako 'a e Siasi Uesiliana Tau'ataina 'o Tonga, n.d.).

Kava tradition embodied the rich heritage based on the sacrifice and its spirit lived on in every age, as legacy, in the heart of the people. It is part of how Tongans (Pacifians) interacted and related to each other horizontally with their kainga, and their Tu'i as did Fevanga and Fefafa humbly offer their only daughter to the Tu'i Tonga at 'Eueiki. Kava's sacrifice heartily bound all people of the nation to be in one accord with their past, present and with their people, culture and traditions, when they sat around the bowl to be served with the mixed beverage. The practice of sacrifice was buried on the land, and somehow transformed into the plants of *Kava* and *To*. The historiographer Lo'au, may have, in my view, thought that the blood of the sacrifice had been transformed into the sap conjoined in these two plants. Hence, taking the two plants binding them, screening the sap and ritualistically distributing it to the *Tu'i* and representatives from all parts of Tonga, each takes their share of the sacrifice.

7.8. Kava – the symbol of peace, worship and celebration:

Kava forum had been the symbol of unity of Tongan society; Kava when performed, takes one back to the past, and in some sense, we experience in deepest level the humble sacrifice and the voice of Kava the person. Kava still binds us together to our land, sea, people culture, and beyond. The full beverage of the Kava mix contains the infusion of the Polynesian ancestor's blood, as again to quote Hau'ofa statement, "blood in the Kava bowl"⁵⁴³. Metaphorically, it had been used in Christian circles to relate to the sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the cross – though it cannot be in any way the same.⁵⁴⁴ This work believes it cannot be equated to that holy act of God in Jesus. However, from the text of the thesis of God's word to the ancestors was *fakakongokonga* – partially unfolded and *angakehekehe* in different manners may be contextually and appropriately related here to Kava's sacrifice.

This work believes that in all societies there are similar stories that have the same notion which may relate in part to the holy act of Jesus Christ. Perhaps it was a way of a community contextually applying the Story of Jesus from their corner of life like the Kava story in Tonga. There, in that *fakakongokonga*, and *angakehekehe* of the global diverse cultures is the message of salvation to ancestors of that society. Along time it is further re-created and re-grafted with later realities intermingled with traditional sacrifices to graft onto the consciousness of humanity the fact that all will be culminated in the latest theology of the Love of God – the Jesus Christ as the true personification of God.

⁵⁴³ Hau'ofa, "Blood in the Kava Bowl".

⁵⁴⁴ Samiuela Toa Finau, "Gospel-Culture Dialogue, Towards a Pacific Theology," in *The Cross and the Tanoa: Gospel and Culture and Culture in the Pacific*, ed. J.R Chandran(Suva: Lotu Pasifika Productions, 1988).

This explanation portrays that love is the basis and domain of all social grafting processes – the love of God permeating the sinful self of the global humanity. As History is the domain of status quo, so is the Kava the domain of Tongan Tapu culture. From a Christian perspective, the Kava mix is taken in remembrance to the sacred blood of Jesus shared on the Cross. Taking a cup from the mixed bowl of Kava in that sense will symbolize your share of the sacrifice Jesus took on the Cross of Calvary. Thanks to God for His love as you drink the blood of our ancestors, for it will take you on a walk backward to the most *kuongamu’a* – the leading ancient age and a leap forward to the *‘amui* - future which is there far beyond in the *kaha’u* – age to come. Kava and her sacrifice can only take on board the *Tala-Tukufakabolo* journey but the aim of the journey is towards realizing the Love of God that guide the whole human journey.

7.9. THE KAVA FORUM: The Tongan democratic government.

The Tu’i Tonga, Hou’eiki, and kainangaefonua communion - representatives of the Fonua.



Taumafa Kava in progress was part of the enthroning formality of the Tu’i Tonga Tupou V (21st Tu’i Kanokupolu) at Mala’e Pangai, Nuku’alofa, Tonga. This photo was taken from a presentation on Tonga Research Association Conference held at Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand on 30 July 2013.

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Taumafa_Kava.jpg

http://wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Taumafa_Kava.jpg (accessed 18.04.2015).

A Summation

Kava and its ritualistic formality for political purpose is a civilization in itself. It was the way of grafting and articulation introduced by the Lo'au migrants. Tonga owes a lot to these unknown migrants who just came to articulate this holistic *Tala-Tukufakaholo* of Kava culture for our use as the symbolic form of national unity and governance. The Lo'au left us with this framework where Tongans (if not the whole of Polynesia) gain deeper experiences and appreciations of the world we dwell in today. It gives me much pleasure to realize how we can be connected to our past ancestors through partaking in this ceremony, and how we can responsibly re-create it as a life-enhancing method for socio-political purpose. It is our gift to our children who are the future of our world. As a method, it helped to connect us to our *Tala* - remembered past which appeared disparate and mythical with the ways in which it was *Tuku* - embraced, embodied and accommodated in the past, as it had been successively *fakaholo* – re-created. Its form is more holistic in nature and allowing preservation of the essence of sacrificial love in a more practicable, comprehensible graft of framework about our valued history.

If one pays particular attention to the note and tone of its ritualistic ceremony, the glamour of the tou'a and his/her *haka* in response to the hearty vibrancies and serenity of the Matapule's voice in command of the whole ceremony, and the absolute silence of all participants observing all movements are all worth-ship like service. In some sense, one may, in an ecstatic way feel the echo of the voice of Kava and her sacrifice to honor her Tu'i. The comforting note of her sacrifice in reverence to her Tu'i Tonga – was worship in itself. It is a real fellowship with God and His creation, the people, the land, the ocean, and nature, and to the hearts of all living beings.

History had been appreciatively preserved and reiterated consistently in this way in Tonga. History needs not be tied down as “thought forms” only on papers, or an arbitrated artificial deliberation of speculative ideas in universities lecture theatres. Neither also a rich deliberation in hotels on cosmopolitan cities, away from the people and place under study. History needs be practically presented in its life-enhancing framework, in such a way that it engages the minds, hearts, experiences, emotions, senses, the love of the people under study, and the community it refers to. In like manner, as we drink we envisioned also the sacrifice that eventuated in the past and had us all as people of the land and oceanic continent. It should instigate the feeling of laughter, and joy, of tears and dancing of singing and drifting in the joyous frequencies of enjoyment and celebrations.

The aim of the Kava ceremony was not to impress, entertain or as most outsiders often commented as propaganda. Rather, it presents the fact as they are, performing the rituals in its sequences, as they were in the past, where the gospel of her sacrificial love remained intact. It presents who we are in cultural terms. We cannot choose to forget it, we may not want to do it, but to completely escape from it may be an impossible venture. We cannot do away with it because our ancestors are here with us in spirit. They care for us now and for our children because of tomorrow. You may not see them, but we see them ourselves. They are our stern, our roots of where we dwell, our anchor, and our spiritual mentor.

One may say it is ancestor worship, I must say it is not. Forgetting one's past is like a raft without a stern - such drift is without direction and aims at nowhere in life. Our children are playing on the deck of the raft of Tala-Tukufakaholo, while our ancestors are watching them. As Queen Matilda oversaw the women's weaving the Tapestry, we, the present generation continue to weave history in the oral historiographic way. Kava is one of the many cultural values we entrusted to them as our generation's legacy.

In all we testify to God and to all humankind. the experiences enjoined in the heart of Kava is a worthy one to embrace, to inherit as a legacy of the past, and to take as a medicine that give peace and comfort to your restless hearts and minds. Come for a bowl and feel for yourself that *Taumafa Kava* is sharing with God his blessings of Love in nature and the anchor to our roots. It is politically relevant to our lives, its wisdom and guidance is, as Denise R. Ames states "valuable knowledge for fashioning a viable, healthy, stable and sustainable future". Taking a kava cup to the full brim, one may be reminded that; "God, in *fakakongokonga*-different ways and *angakebekebe*-various manners, spoke to our ancestors, through prophets...." Even through Kava the leper who offered her life to be sacrificed by her parent to honor the Tu'i at the time, it was the most befitting practice of the time and situation.

Let us see more of the contribution of the women in formulating the Tongan hierarchical system. 'Ilaheva set the model role to all women of Tonga and that great wealth had great influences on the formation of the island Ha'a Tu'i of Tonga.

CHAPTER EIGHT: *Tala-Tukufakaholo* and Women: Case Study Three – the Mohefo Practice.

Introduction.

This chapter begins by studying the status of women in the context of the *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga* and the Tongan Tapu culture. It argues the *Mohefo* practice as a way of Tongan oral historiography. It sets the background by briefly introducing the status of women in *Tongan Nonofo 'a Kainga*. As a Case study, *Mohefo* is argued as a way of graphing history on human persons. Cohabitation in terms of *Fanongonongo Tokoto* is the practice of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* and is seen here as the way of writing history (discussed in earlier chapter). This is pragmatic way of passing on of life qualities, wisdom, and love from one person to another in a consensual way. The practice is of old, and was the way of successive embodiment, manifestations and re-creating human persons between a woman and a man. . Examples of *Mohefo* practice in history will be noted to illustrate the point of argument. The List of the *Kau Mohefo* in *Tala-Tukufakaholo* historiography is documented. The chapter will sum up with the present *Tu'i* as a *Ha'a Mohefo* in the making, followed by a brief conclusion of the chapter.

8.1. The Status of Women in *Nonofo 'a Kainga*:

The status of women in the society is another aspect of *Tui Tonga* culture and *nonofo 'a kainga* that is worth of note here for they play a significant role in the development of kainga. *Tala-Tukufakaholo* holds that the older sister of the father is higher in status than the father himself. This higher status of women in Tonga is based on a derivation from the *Tu'i Tonga* culture on the same principle of brother-sister Tapu relationships. The older sister of *Tu'i Tonga* (biologically) was called *Tu'i Tonga Fefine*. And at times *Tu'i Tonga* fefine was *Ma'itaki* or *Mohefo*, of a *Tu'i Tonga* was higher in status than the *Tu'i Tonga* himself. Her oldest daughter was to be *Tamaha*-‘Sacred child’ and the highest chief of the Tongan society and *fabu* (Vasu in Fijian) to the reigning *Tu'i Tonga*.⁵⁴⁵ In the context of the 7 Tapu relations (noted on earlier chapter) of Tongan hierarchy, *Tamaha* claims the apex, and only in Tonga this is observed, as compared to Melanesia and other Polynesian islands. What Burley refers to as the point of “intersection of Myth, Narrative, Genealogy” for the study of dynastic Tongan history is perhaps how the Lo’au had used Kava to amalgamate the myth of the origin, the plants that grew out of their grave, the beverage from the plant, and the narrative,

⁵⁴⁵ See Burley, "Sacred Child and Sacred Place: On the Intersection of Myth, Narrative, Genealogy and Landscape for the Study of Dynastic Tongan History."

genealogy to form the associated ritual and protocol. The Tamaha was also *Fahu* herself for the whole nation, based on her being the highest Tapu person of the nation. *Fahu* is described by Latukefu as the person “who have unlimited liberties with one’s belongings,” who is the father’s sister’s daughter or son.⁵⁴⁶

The high status of women in the leadership role, and much more is evident in the history of Tonga. Tupoumoheofo, the Ma’itaki of Tu’i Tonga (IT) Baulaho was a brave woman. She was the only woman known before Queen Salote to hold the title as 12th Tu’i Kanokupolu (10th in Campbell’s list)⁵⁴⁷ though for only a short period. She was daughter of the 7th Tu’i Kanokupolu (TK) Tupoulahi and sister of the 8th TK Tu’ihalafatai, but wife to 36th IT Baulaho. Elizabeth Wood-Ellem noted, “she was installed as the 12th TK, and deposed by Tuku’aho...and later fled to Vava’u with Baulaho”, and there, in “c.1784, she probably died.”⁵⁴⁸

Toe’umu was another brave woman. She was the aunt of Finau ‘Ulukalala II (Feletoa), after being installed governor of Vava’u at the death of the former governor Tubouniua in Lifuka, (1807). She led the revenge and built the *Kolotau Feletoa* – Feletoa fortress in Vava’u. ***Feletoa*** fortress was erected by the Ha’a Ngata Tupu woman named Toe’umu in revenge for the killing of Tupouniua (the governor of Vava’u at the time) by Tupouto’a’s men in Lifuka, Ha’apai in early 1800 AD, It has six gates namely; *Fatungakoa*, *Taukotofa*, *Talipaea*, *Talifufui*, *Polata’ane* and *Faleula*.

Her bravely and determination showed when she demanded that any to’a – brave man of Vava’u to show one’s bravely by bunching with bare fist a citrus tree. This citrus tree was known as the *Fu’u Moli ko FieTu’i* – the citrus plant named FieTu’i which stood at the center of the fort. Challengers were brave men of Vava’u at the time and they ended their life on the trunk of this citrus tree, with their blood flowing out like a stream (now known as Fatungakoa, one the fort’s gate). This event is the background of the name for the fort – *Fele ‘a e to’a*. When Tupouniua, the governor of Vava’u was murdered by Tupouto’a’s men in Lifuka,⁵⁴⁹ Toe’umu claimed to be the champion of Vava’u.

⁵⁴⁶ Sione Latukefu, *Church and State in Tonga: The Wesleyan Methodists Missionaries and Political Development, 1822-1875*, (Canberra: Australian National University, 1974), 3.

⁵⁴⁷ Campbell, *Classical Tongan Kingship*. (1989), 42.

⁵⁴⁸ See “Who ‘s who” in Wood-Ellem, *Queen Salote of Tonga: The Story of an Era, 1900-1965*. (1999), 318.

⁵⁴⁹ Wood, *History and Geography of Tonga*. (1972), 36.

8.2. Women with status: The list of Fahu since 12th century.

The list of each Tu'i Tonga and their sister with their *fahu*, Ve'ehala adopted from Tamaha 'Amelia's genealogy is worth noting here.

TU'I TONGA	His sister Tu'i Tonga Fefine	Fahu
Tu'itatu	Latutama	-
Talatama	Fatafehi	-
Fatafehi	Sinaitakala'i Langileka	Fonokimoana
Kau'ulufonua III	'Ekutongapipiki	Tu'imala
Tu'ipuloTu'iLangitu'ofefafa	Sinaitakala II	Simuoko
Tu'ipuloTu'iLangitu'oteau	Sinaitakala III	Mo'ungalakapa
Pau	Siumafua'uta	Latufuipeka
Ma'ulupekotofa	Nanasipau'u	Fakahikuo'uiha ('Amelia)
Fatafehi Fuanunuiava	Sinaitakala IV (then Fatafehi Ha'apai). ⁵⁵⁰	

Having presented the Tu'i Tonga culture; the highest chief *Tamaha* and all the three main Ha'a Tu'i-dynasties of Tongan society, which comprised the term *Nonofo 'a kainga*, it should be mentioned that even to the extent of their burial places they were hierarchical and differently named. In terms of gravesides, *Tamaha*, *Tu'i Tonga* and *Tu'i Tonga Fefine* were buried on a *Langi*,⁵⁵¹ while *bou'eiki* were buried at a *Mala'e*,⁵⁵² while *Kainangaefonua* were buried at a *fa'itoka*.

8.1. Mohefo: the concept of Tongan oral historiography.

Elizabeth Wood-Ellem noted;

In Tongan social and political life, the key relationship is between the brother and sister who together rule the prime social unit, the *kainga*. The sister determines the destiny of the group and is the ultimate authority on social relationships and the brother governs the lands and its produce.⁵⁵³

In the context of the practice of ensnaring the toto'i 'eiki from the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga line by offering a lady of the Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu to produce an off spring constituted the logic, philosophy and practice of Mohefo. This is the determining practice of the Tongan culture from the beginning – the accommodation 'Ilaheva had to the sky-god set the model in 950AD. Thus, this Mohefo practice is a re-version of that accommodation. But for Mohefo, it was instituted by the 1st Tu'i

⁵⁵⁰ Rutherford, Ve'ehala, and Fanua, "Oral Tradition and Prehistory." (1977), 31.

⁵⁵¹ See lists of all the Langi on appendix.

⁵⁵² Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu have been buried at Mala'e Kula in Nuku'alofa.

⁵⁵³ Wood-Ellem, *Queen Salote of Tonga: The Story of an Era, 1900-1965*. (1999), 297.

Tonga Tupou I as his way of enmeshing and amalgamating to integrate the blood lines of the three Ha'a Tu'i of Tonga by way of inter-marriages. The motivation is an elevation of both the chiefly blood system in Ha'a Tu'i lineages based on the highest virtues and values of *Ha'a Fafine* – women. Pessimistic viewers of this practice and cultural schemes would see it as exploitation of women for pro-creation. But, this cultural logical view sees it as an honor and prestige: a women's womb is to produce off spring that sustain dignity. This is embraced in the saying of the land which goes; *Tama Tu'u be Fa'e*. This saying means the reputation of the silent commitment and dedication of the mother is carried with the sons and daughters' achievements. On a deeper level with added layers of cultural meanings sons and daughters can only be free to exercise their free will and personal dispositions in the village of their mother. One cannot act freely in the village of their father, because of the *feveitapai* and their aunties' children are their *fabu* – persons who have exclusive rights upon them.

It is appropriate to put this move into perspective. The orchestration of Mohefo practice began after Taufa'ahau took power to rule Tonga from the warrior of the fort; Tokemoana, and the last 39th Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga at the battle of Velata, Lifuka, Ha'apai. This is referred to by Wesleyan missionary John Thomas to have happened on the 28th October, 1826.⁵⁵⁴ Having being the victor of this second attack he held the power to rule the nation himself, and sought ensnaring ways from traditional culture to obtain strong linkage in blood from the Tu'i Tonga line. The only way which saw him achieve this goal was by way of Mohefo practice.

As a Case Study, this chapter presents practical examples of *Mohefo* as a pragmatic way of *tobi* – artistically crafting a new person through *Fanongonongo tokoto* – the way of cohabitation. It is a *graphing* of history – in terms of *his or her story* in the womb, and the blood and flesh of the cohabited persons. This is the oral form of human interactions, in other words; another form of talanoa. The most important point of this interaction is the *grafting* of DNA qualities within the life systems of the persons. It is a kind of innovative organization which involved human interactions and reconnections of blood ties, to see in its outside form a new hybrid. This is the heart of the Mohefo in this Tongan oral historiography of *fanongonongo tokoto*. It sees the *Mohefo* practice in this tripartite exercise of Tala – imparting the life genetic quality from one to another to form a new / and *Tuku* – imprinting through hybridizing the life quality upon the wombs, minds, hearts, beings and memories of the persons involved/ and the *Fakabolo* – recreating of the DNA life qualities and a duplicating of past wisdom, in the whole practical grafting and enmeshing in the

⁵⁵⁴ Referred to in Statham, *A History of Tonga as Recorded by Rev. John Thomas*. (2013), 112.

blood lineages. The (DNA) qualities of the two cohabited persons are being diluted, merged and hybridized to form the progeny who would become the *Moheofo* – the incarnation of the parents. This pragmatic grafting practice of blood lineages on human persons saw a consolidation of Tongan *Tala-Tukufakaholo*, of politico-cultural confederations.

In the context of the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga, I have named the outcome of this *Moheofo* practice lately begun by the great grandfather (TK. Mumui) of the present ruling monarch as an institution of the newest lineage of the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou. This is based on the fact that Tupou I attempted this re-creation by hybridization through inter-marriages. Though, it was known that will take time over some generations to achieve his goal, it is evident from sources, he was so determined in mind that this was the only possible way of grafting human bloods by way of hybridization through Moheofo inter-marriages.

I use this term hybridization in an attempt to merge and enmesh the sacred bloods of the Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu and the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga lines. Taufa'ahau was well aware of the old way of hybridization through arranged marriage among the two lineages of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga and Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua for a *Ma'itaki* – principal wife for upholding the *toto'i 'eiki* of the Tu'i Tonga. Meaning that in the old system, it was traditional that the wife of the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga was always came from the Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua. Here it is evident why the Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua line was instituted so that it was possible to have another line from where the principal wife of the Tu'i would come. Thus, this was the only way to sustain the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga line in high regard, blood-wise.

Ian Campbell testified to the practice of Moheofo and defined as:

This word superseded Ma'itaki when the principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga came to be supplied from the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua family in the time of Mo'unga 'o Tonga.⁵⁵⁵

Campbell highlights in the above Ma'itaki was the practice of supplying the principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga from the Ha'a Takalaua lineage.

As I have always referred to in earlier chapters the *'Eiki* or to include one in the *Hou'eiki class* - aristocracy in Tongan social hierarchy was determined by the *toto'i 'eiki* – sacred blood. This refers to inheriting the blood of the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga line – as being the sky-god descendant. The authority on Tongan Royal family history and scholar Elizabeth Wood-Ellem defines *'eiki* as;

'eiki – (1) chief rank derived from blood descent, especially descent from the Tu'i Tonga line, and especially through women; *Hou'eiki* (plural) –

⁵⁵⁵ Campbell, *Classical Tongan Kingship*. (1989), 43.

aristocracy....(2). Anyone whose rank is superior in comparison with another, who is thereby lower (tu'a).⁵⁵⁶

Thus, for any person who is descended from the Tu'i Tonga line and is a woman she is said to be an '*eiki tete'e*' – most sacred person. The last person to have been ascribed this title of '*eiki tete'e*' in Tongan aristocratic hierarchy was His Majesty The Late Tu'i Tonga Taufa'ahau Tupou IV. In fact, He was the manifestation of the *Mohefo* practice for he was the great grandson of the two-blood line of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga and Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu through hybridity and inter marriages over many generations.

8.2. The '*eiki tete'e*'-sacred person concept: *Mohefo* in practice.

From the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga line, the 38th Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava, (buried at Langi Fekitetele, Mataika, Vava'u)⁵⁵⁷ married Tupou Veiongo, daughter of the 11th Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui. They were the parent of the last 39th Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga (d.1865), whose daughter Lavinia was Queen to the 2nd Tu'i Tonga Tupou II (married 1 June, 1899), who were the parent of the 3rd Tu'i Tonga Queen Salote Tupou III, the mother of His Majesty the 4th Tu'i Tonga Tupou IV, the '*eiki tete'e*' – most sacred person of this hybridized era.

Whereas, from the Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu lineage, from the 1st Tu'i Tonga Taufa'ahau Tupou I, whose son Tevita 'Unga (c.1824-79), daughter Fusipala married Tu'ipelehake (Fatafehi) (c.1842-1912), to be parent of the 2nd Tu'i Tonga Tupou II, the father of H.M. Queen Salote, the mother of the 4th HM. Tu'i Tonga Tupou IV. Though H.M. Queen Salote declared herself as Tu'i Kanokupolu, her Prince Consort was of Tungi Mailefihi (1887-1941), the grandson of Tungi Halatuituia (d.1900) of Ha'a Takalaua, who outlived his son Tuku'aho (d.1897), the father of Tungi Mailefihi, the father of H.M. Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, the '*eiki tete'e*'-sacred person and pinnacle of Tongan society, yet the embodiment of the *Mohefo* practice.

What is described here is the genealogical development of a person through the grafting of blood lines to become an '*eiki tete'e*' – chiefly person. A real hybridization of blood lines and a merging and enmeshing of sacred bloods through *Mohefo* practices occurs over many generations. Genealogies stood the test of time and proved authentic and reliable information in *Tala-Tukufakaholo* oral historiography.

⁵⁵⁶ See "Glossary" in Wood-Ellem, *Queen Salote of Tonga: The Story of an Era, 1900-1965*. (1999), 302.

⁵⁵⁷ Langi Fekitetele is the exact spot of land and 'api where the author of this thesis grew up in Mataika, Vava'u.

To sum the whole re-creation process at this point of the writing. The two main practices of entrapping *toto'i 'eiki* through *Ma'itaki* was practiced between Ha'a Tu'i Tonga and Ha'a Takalaua lineages. The selection of the *Ma'itaki* as according to tradition involves many processes of *Katoanga Liku* – naked beauty contests. *Feinga Kotone* entails the negotiations by lineage to offer their lady a chance. The event is associated with dances and melodies while ladies of the highest chiefly lines were contested to be picked for the task. The beach of Hihifo, Tongatapu, beside *Valefanau* (residence of Feta'o Kefu Kaitamaiki) is called the *Fala 'o Setane* – plateau of satan. It is the place where *Katoanga Liku* was taken place.⁵⁵⁸

The practice of *mohefo* was for the cohabitation between Ha'a Tu'i Tonga and Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu lineages.⁵⁵⁹ The selection of a *Mohefo* was different, the proposal is made between the two lines and the lady is prepared and escorted by the ha'a on a *Fata* – carrier/stretchers to the Tu'i Tonga domain. As the name carries, the lady is placed there for the Tu'i to take when wake. No evidence of beauty contest or otherwise was performed before a *Mohefo* is taken to the Tu'i. This practice may be related to the story in the Book of Ruth in the Bible. The story is about how Naomi advised her daughter in law Ruth “to go and uncover his feet and lie down. He [Boaz] will tell you what to do.” (3.2c) Ruth did and Boaz found favor on her and took her as his wife, when awoke from sleep. [Mohefo]⁵⁶⁰

8.3. The Background of Taufa'ahau building the Ha'a Mohefo:

But, when it came to the time of the Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu; the first title holder of the Tu'i Tonga Tupou lineage saw another way of ensnaring and enmeshing the sacred blood of Ha'a Tu'i Tonga line. Most probably he saw, for one reason, the sacred blood had become thoroughly diluted and diffused when shared through inter-marriages in the two buffer lineages of the Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua and Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu, though He himself was a product of that whole build up through inter-marriages. For whatever justification, Taufa'ahau saw fit to begin this new line in good spirit. My point here is to see how cultural logics played into oral historiography, and worked quite well and peacefully for re-creating another Ha'a Tu'i lineage. In contrast, Ian Campbell from his power politic viewpoint suggested in his “alternative explanation stated;

⁵⁵⁸ I cannot go into detail on this aspect of the contest and the procedures of the selection of a *Ma'itaki* for the depth of the business is satanic in my view, and was only occurred in the context of that particular time (pre-Christian era). The place name had changed by the royal family to be known as *Fala 'o Ata*.

⁵⁵⁹ See and compare the note by Campbell on this history. Campbell, *Classical Tongan Kingship*. (1989), 34.

⁵⁶⁰ The story is narrated in The Book of Ruth 3 & 4.

....the tripartite dynasty was a device to legitimize a division of power which originated in rivalry and conflict. It was finally brought to an end by the re-emergence of that conflict in a series of civil wars which lasted for three generations. However, in Tonga the end of the three-fold kingship is explained in a similar way to its origins: as an expression of national unity, peacefully accomplished.

If Campbell here refers to the wars of Velata, the whole story about that war was to dismantle the usage of the old gods by the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga. The lives of those who stood to secure those old gods and relics were instead converted. However, sparing the life of the last Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga was the indication that the war was not aimed at killing but Taufā'ahau's ambition was to start wiping off the old gods and denying the *Lotu Mu'a* having the people turn to the Christian God and learn about the Bible. This is evident in his naming of the two Mala'e-fields in Lifuka as "*Tau'akipulu*" and "*Lea 'a e Tobi*".⁵⁶¹ *Tau'akipulu* marked his decision to end the wars using the *pulu* - gunpowder of the foreigners (Port au prince, 1806). Taufā'ahau wished the people would learn about the *Lea 'o e Tobi* - Words of the Bible. This was the context of his aims to modernize Tonga when he adopted the Christian values and principles.

This is also the context for Taufā'ahau's wish to demolish all the fortresses and banishing all gods and relics in Tongatapu in 1836-7. He aimed to re-build a new Tonga with a new line of Tu'i. The way he did it was a reform through Mohefo inter-marriages. He began by dismantling Ngele'ia, Hule, Kolovai, Te'ekiu, Houma and lastly in Bea, which have been the pretext to his institution of government of Vava'u in 1838. Fueled by his and his wife Lupepau'u's overwhelming experiences of the Pentecostal revival which occurred in Vava'u in 1834, his first preaching of the Gospel at the Tauafitu Church at Makave, hosted by Tu'i 'Afitu and his people on 29th October, 1834 there pronounced; "*Oku 'auha boku kakai ko e masiva 'Ilo.*" – 'My people are perished for the lack of knowledge,' based on Hosea 4.6. He supported *Benisimani Latusele* and *Banebasa 'Abongalu* and those who experienced the revival to leave for Samoa to take the spirit of the revival to them in 1835. For the same course, he supported his friend ministers; Joeli Bulu, Uesile Langi, Mosese Maamafainoa, and Semisi Havea together with preachers Salosi Fa'one and Jione Latu to sail for Fiji in 1838 for the same purpose.⁵⁶²

⁵⁶¹ Nanasipau'u, 'Ahio, and Latu, *Ko E Ta'u 'E 190 'O E Fale Ko Cokevernal li 'I He 'Api Ko Ameloke, Kolovai, Tonga.* (2016).

⁵⁶² 'Aioema 'Atiola, *Ko E Tala Fungani: Ko E Ngaahi Talanoa Fungani 'O E Kau 'a Tonga 'I Hono Fakaa'u 'O E Lotu Ki Hono Ngaahi Faonua Kaunga'api 1835-1985* (Nuku'alofa Siasi Uesiliana Tau'ataina 'o Tonga (Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga) 2006). 27 & 81.

This all happened while Tafua'ahau himself as the Tu'i Vava'u - instituted the Pule'anga 'o Vava'u in 1838, followed with the promulgation of the John Thomas' version of Vava'u Law Code, 1839, and the dedication of Tonga to the God of heaven in November, 1839. This historic event is marked on land in the name of the Pouono government of Vava'u. This Pouono landmark pays tribute to the six people who took part in the event of the dedicating of Tonga to the God of heaven. Tongan historian Sione Latukefu recorded four of them namely : "Taufa'ahau, Jobe Soakai (Steward or Governor), Osaiasi Veikune, (Chief Judge or Magistrate), Eliesa Kijikiji (Judge), Tiofilosi Kaianuanu (Judge)" and the unnamed persons were Tafua'ahau and the Wesleyan minister the Revd. John Thomas who documented the work.⁵⁶³ These developments Tafua'ahau did when he was Tu'i Vava'u after the death of the 4th Finau 'Ulukalala Tuapasi in 1833, and before he was installed at the Koka in Le'ole'o, Bangai Lahi, Hihifo as the 17th Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845.⁵⁶⁴

8.4. Mohefo Practices in the History of Tonga.

Having described the Mohefo as an indigenous practice, let us look at some more examples. Noel Rutherford transcribed Ve'ehala and Tupou Posesi Fanua's story about the Ma'itaki and Mohefo stating;

The Tu'i Tonga had many wives and concubines (sinifu) as many as 200 in the case of 'Uluakimata I [Tele'a]. However, the woman of highest rank had a special position: she was the Ma'itaki, who in later times was called the Mohefo, and the mother of the heir to the title.⁵⁶⁵

This version of the story is different from the Tala-Tukufakaholo about the 29th Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata Tele'a. He is said to have had three principal wives (besides the 200 concubines) when he lived at Ma'ananga, Fualu. The three wives were; Nanasiha'ele, (who was Ma'itaki) a daughter of a high chief of Tonga. Talafaiva was a princess from Samoa, and the most beautiful of them all. Mata'ukipa, was daughter of Kau'ulufonua Huo, the gardener who kept the garden of the Tu'i Tonga at the feleoko. The story was told that the Ma'itaki was Nanasiha'ele, as being the daughter of the high chief of Tonga and she was expected to bear a son to claim the heir to the title. But she had no child with Tele'a. Tele'a held special love with the beauty of the Samoan princess

⁵⁶³ See the names in Appendix A Code of Vava'u, 1839 in Latukefu, *Church and State in Tonga: The Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries and Political Development, 1822-1875*. (1974). 221.

⁵⁶⁴ See *ibid*.

⁵⁶⁵ Ve'ehala and Fanua, "Oral Tradition and Prehistory." (1977), 30.

Talafaiva, but again had no child with her. Tele'a had a son and a daughter with Mata'ukipa, but she ranked third in his preference and love. It could have been, that 200 other ladies were in the domain as *Feinga Kotone* of the Tu'i serving different duties.

The inferior wife Mata'ukipa was, one day fed up with her being inferior to the other ladies, escaped to her father who at the time lived at Vaotu'u. The Tu'i Tonga's gardener was Mata'ukipa's father Kau'ulufonua Huo. The garden at the time reached as far as the 'otuhouma – coast of Houma. Mata'ukipa's children were Fatafehi, a son, and Sinaitakalailangileka, a daughter, from Tu'i Tonga 'Uluakimata Tele'a.

It happened that Tui Tonga Tele'a escaped Ma'ananga with his Samoan princess to live at 'Euakafa island in Vava'u. There, Tele'a went on a fishing expedition while Lolomana'ia of Makave invaded the domain, and made love with the princess. On return Tele'a learnt about Talafaiva's secret relationship with Lolomana'ia, warned Talafaiva's uncle 'Auka to discipline the princess. In full force, 'Auka bashed the lady and caused her death. Tele'a consequently cried; "*Ete tu'anaki kia 'Auka!*" – Tele'a did not expect that 'Auka would end the life of the princess. Nevertheless, Tele'a from there went to Samoa to beg forgiveness to her parents and later died and was buried there. Tele'a's son Fatafehi succeeded him on the throne, and built the Langi Paepae o Tele'a as his memoir to him. While the daughter Sinatakala'ilangileka married the Fijian Tapuosi from Vacivaci, Lakeba, Lau⁵⁶⁶ and their children became Tamaha who lived on Tungua island.

8.5. Ma'itaki Cohabitations: a way of crafting lineages.

Tala-Tukufakabolo tradition holds that before the practice of *Moheofo* was introduced by Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleba'amea, his elder daughter Halaevalu ensnared the Toto'i 'eiki through cohabitation with the 33rd Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu'langitu'ofefafa to mark the "ascendancy of Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu over the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua."⁵⁶⁷ It followed, the younger daughter Tu'utangabunubunu cohabited with the 34th Tu'i Tonga Fakana'an'a and produced Tafolo.⁵⁶⁸ The children's status in the hierarchy was always be determined by the chiefly status of both the father and the mother. If a child was born by a chiefly father and a tu'a mother, the saying "*Nge'esi Taba*" would pronounce upon the child.

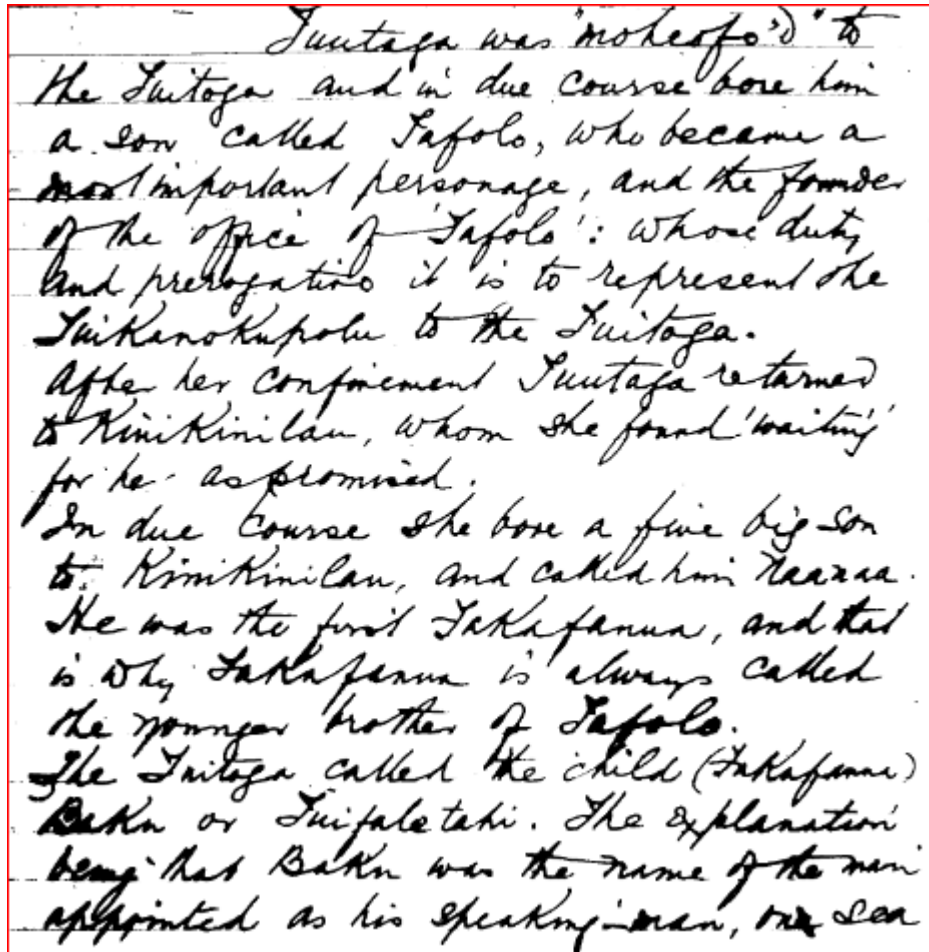
⁵⁶⁶ Reid, *Tovata I & II*.

⁵⁶⁷ Campbell, *Classical Tongan Kingship*. (1989), 34.

⁵⁶⁸ See Moulton, "Notes on Tongan History and Tongan Legends."

James Egan Moulton, the scholar and theologian, the principal of Tupou College in his own hand writing documented this Tala about the Mohefo from his experienced teachers of the college, he erected for Tonga in 1866.

Figure 8.2.



Tuitaga was 'mohefo'd' to
 the Tuitaga and in due course bore him
 a son called Tafolo, who became a
 most important personage, and the founder
 of the office of 'Tafolo': whose duty
 and prerogative it is to represent the
 Tuikanokupolu to the Tuitaga.
 After her confinement Tuitaga returned
 to Kinikini, whom she found 'waiting'
 for her as promised.
 In due course she bore a fine big son
 to Kinikini, and called him Fakafanua.
 He was the first Fakafanua, and that
 is why Fakafanua is always called
 the younger brother of Tafolo.
 The Tuitaga called the child (Fakafanua)
 Bakn or Tuifale taki. The explanation
 being that Bakn was the name of the man
 appointed as his speaking-man, or sea

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But if the Tu'i Tonga fathered an offspring with a mother lower in rank, but not with a Ma'itaki, that child can only claim the heir to the title if the Ma'itaki had no issue. Tafolo, for example was the son of Tu'i Tonga Fakana'ana'a and Tu'utangahunuhunu, and was entitled the *Sina'e 'eiki* – sacred person because his mother was Tu'utangahunuhunu of Tu'i Kanokupolu. Thus, the Tu'i was always challenged to obtain the highest chiefly mother as Ma'itaki so that their children would claim the heir to the title. In some cases, when a child is from a tu'a mother who claims no chiefly status from either the father or the mother but in some way had issue with a chief then, he or she is known to be a "Tu'a posiposi" – extremely low in chiefly status. It is often pronounced upon children whose mother are of low chiefly lineage and are also *fie'eiki* – pretending to be 'eiki.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.

Certain Tu'i Tonga's Ma'itaki (principal wives) are recorded by Ve'ehala;

8.6. The *Ma'itaki* – principal wife of *Tu'i Tonga*:

Momo Nua daughter of Lo'au Tuputoka of Ha'amea.
Takalaua..... Va'elaveamata, the beauty who was born with a
pigeon head and was abandoned at Ata island, but
grew up to be a beautiful lady and married the 23rd
Tu'i Tonga.
Kau'ulufonua Fekai.... Taufaitoa
Kau'ulufonua II..... Vainu'ulasi
Tapu'osi I..... Va'e[tapu]nopo daughter of 'Ahome'e.
'Uluakimata I (Tele'a) Mata'ukipa lived at Ma'ananga, issued son
Fatafehi and daughter Sinaitakalailangileka who
cohabited Tapu'osi from Vacivaci, Fiji.
Sinaitakalailangileka as being the sister of
the Tu'i Tonga Fatafehi, she is a
Tu'i Tonga Fefine, and
higher in status than the Tu'i. Her children
would be Tamaha and they are
Fahu of the Tu'i. This
spells out well how the women determines the
chiefiness of a person especially the Fale 'o e Tu'i.
Fatafehi son of Tele'a Kaloafutonga, this Fatafehi built the Paepae o
Tele'a terrace tomb in Lapaha, in memory of his
father who died and buried in Samoa.
Kau'ulufonua III..... Takala
'Uluakimata II..... Toa
Tu'ipulotu 'i Langi Tu'ofefafa..... Halaevalu, this Halaevalu as according
to Campbell, was daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu
Mataeleha'amea. Campbell claimed this is the first
Mohefo, as being the daughter of the Tu'i
Kanokupolu offer to a Tu'i Tonga for a progeny,
thus instituted the first Mohefo.

i. The Mohefo – the actual entrapping of the Tu'i Tonga blood by offering a virgin from Tu'i Kanokupolu lineage:

Fakana'ana'a	Tongotea / (Tu'utangahunuhunu).
Tu'ipulotu 'i Langitu'oteau	Laumanukilupe
Paulaho	Tupoumohefo
Fatafehi Fuanunuiava	Tupou Veiongo. ⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

8.7. The 13th Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui and his 38 children:

Her Majesty's genealogy *Queen Salote's Tobi Hohoko*,⁵⁷¹ recorded only 17 women (of almost 30) whom cohabited with *Muimui* the man who instituted the village of Kolomotu'a – as *kolo 'o e motu'a* – the village of the old man Mumui who issued 38 children in all. It was Mumui who shifted the residence of the Tu'i Kanokupolu from Mu'a, and Hihifo Tongatapu to the Fangatapu in Nuku'alofa in 1790. Some of the information was retrieved from John Thomas' Diary. Thomas noted that Mumui's principal wife was Tu'imala with whom bore him three daughters and a son Tangataolakeba.

Muimui's children with respective mothers were:

1. Halaevalumobeofo – mother **Tu'imala**, daughter of Koleaki.
2. Malama **Tu'imala**.
3. Fulifua'atoga..... **Tu'imala**.
4. Tagataolakeba....as son.....by **Tu'imala**.
5. Tuku'aho, & 6. bro. Halaholo mother **Lebolo**, daughter of Ata by Logola'elelei, daughter of Kolofale, Hofoa.
7. Halaevalukovi & 8. Talihupe mother **Lebolo**, daughter of Ata.....
9. Tubouveiogo – mother **Tule** –daughter of Ve'ehala, adopted by Motu'apuaka, daughter of Tangikina Tofetofe, daughter of Nuku.
- 10.. Baba & 11. Vavahe'a by **Tule**
12. Son Tu'uakitau mother **Tule**
- 13 Talanoa mother **Kaigamoma'ukava**, sister of **Tule**.
14. Tuboumalohi(said to be the son of Tu'ihalafatai or Finaulahi adopted by Mumui) mother – **Meibe'e** daughter of Lanaki.
15. Tonga mother **Meibe'e**. 16. sons Aleamotu'a. 17. Lausi'i. & 18. Niumeitolu. and 19. daughter Kaifonua'amanu, mother - **Kaufuji** daughter of Fielakeba
20. sons Vakasiuola. 21. Valu. & 22. daughter Popuakui. mother **Fehoko** –
23. sons Namoa mother **Vailolomoli** –daughter of Tatafu (Tu'i Haka) son of Mateatafa (son of Mabe'uli'uli daughter of Fakana'ana'a daughter of Tu'i Tonga.), but from Thomas Diary, Namoa's mother is **Funakikatoa**. (Thomas. p.37.)
24. Buakakatoa. Mother **Funakitoutai**.
25. son Tuboufutuna-. 26. Daughter Halaevalu. Mother **Fakaheke**.
- 27.son Ma'afu. 28. Daughter Ngaluha'amea. Mother **Finau Muivai**.
29. Maumaukuotau (Manukuotau, by Thomas) mother **Tupouta'anea** (in Thomas p.38).

⁵⁷¹ 'Aminiasi Kefu Taelangi, *Tohi hohoko 'a Kuini Salote Tupou; Ko e Hiki Taipaleti 'e he Komiti Talafakafonua 'o Tonga*, 1962.

30. Niupalavu mother **Mokosiamo’eteika**, daughter of Vave. (the feta’o).
31. Ikahibifo mother **Afeaki**.
32. Halaholo mother not known
33. Tubouha’akili mother **Tu’imatamoana daughter of Lasike** mother was daughter of Kamoto.
34. Ikahibifo mother **Moa’ila** –
35. Halaevaluta’anea mother **Tubouta’anea**
36. Tu’ipulotumatapule mother **Toa** (To’u in Thomas, p.38)
37. Taulikitogatabu mother **La’aina**.
38. Tulihakautabu mother not known. 39. Atumeibeito mother not known
40. He’ilomu mother not known.⁵⁷²

I have presented the above from HM Queen Salote List with infiltrations from John Thomas’ List on his Diary.

8.8. A Discussion.

Tala-Tukufakaholo holds that Tu’i Kanokupolu Mumui attracted many Mohefo – mothers and the building up of Tongan Tala-Tukufakaholo. Mohefo practice and its significance began in his time. Whether it was TK Mumui’s intention, however, he moved the residence of the Tu’i Kanokupolu from Uoleva in Mu’a, and Neiafu, in Hihifo to Fangatapu, the beach of Nuku’alofa. There he instituted the village which is now known as Kolomotu’a – translated – the old village. But with my re-creation of the name based on available facts, I define it as “the village of the motu’a - old man - Mumui.” The title motu’a was an honorific term, applied to an able man who does extraordinary things. This is appropriately applied to TK Mumui because of his age and status as Tu’i. Conversely, nowadays, the title motu’a is used in humble term to describe a tu’a person to the Tu’i.

Mumui and his 40+ children with their mothers and related siblings lived at Fangatapu in Nuku’alofa. His house was known as Fale Tu’u loto – house at the centre. The name of his grave is *Mala’e ’Aloa* – the grave of his *Fale ’Alo* - children. He named the Sia - mount as “Sia ko Veiongo”, probably after his daughter Tupou Veiongo mothered by Tule. He named four of his daughters as Halaevalu. Shifting the residence from Mu’a, the residence and the domain of Ha’a Takalaua regime, and Hihifo was the residence and the domain of the Ha’a Tu’i Kanokupolu which is the

⁵⁷² ‘Aminiasi Kefu Taulangi, *Tohi Hohoko ‘a Kuini Salote Tupou*, (Nuku’alofa: Ko e hiki taipaleti ‘e he Komiti Talafakafonua ‘o Tonga, 1962). 2-3.

Samoan regime in Tonga by Tohu'ia and Ngata, was not easy. But it happened with Mumui and there must be a reason.

The reason of his shift is not noted in the sources, nor the *Tala-Tukufakabolo*. However, by interpretation, I can predict that Mumui wanted to build a new lineage. This new lineage is, retrospectively, what is now called the *Ha'a MOHEOFO*. The present ruling monarchy is the 6th Tu'i in *Ha'a Mohefo* along Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou lineage. The strategy of building this Ha'a was by way of Mohefo. The amalgamation of the chiefly bloodlines by way of cohabitations to produce a progeny. One may see how the practice of hybridization had already been practiced in Tongan Ha'a Tu'i through Ma'itaki and now the Mohefo.

Conclusion:

The present ruling Ha'a Tu'i Tonga Tupou is known in honour as the *HA'A MOHEOFO*. Thus, I conclude that this is the end result of this historio-grafting of blood lines by way of Mohefo practice – joining together of all blood lineages (this is embodied in 'Ahome'e's matapule named Kavafusi – meaning His house has amalgamated all Kava of the nation unto his domain).⁵⁷³ The baseline of the actual grafting Ha'a Mohefo is Ha'a Tu'i Tonga, and the offering of a Mohefo lady was aimed at ensnaring and enmeshing of the Toto'i 'Eiki conjoined in the persons of the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga. Thus, the elevation is caused by the infused sacred blood of the Tu'i Tonga being invested upon the lady of the Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu and they conceived progeny. Thus, is the explanation of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* historio-grafting proper in this Mohefo practice.

When Christianity came the practice of Mohefo continued only with the Ha'a Tu'i family. Western education, and the Christian biblical teaching reinforced the traditional recognition and Tapu value of women together with the Western values in education in a scaffolding way. Women were given more opportunities to develop their potentials through education. They played significant roles in other developments of politic, education, Christian offices and others, added on to their talents and further enriched their significance as women of service for good purpose. The first example is the coronation of HM. Queen Salote as a woman, and the most Tapu person of Tonga to be Tu'i Tonga Tupou III in 1917. (though many would claim it to be a copy of the British system of King's coronation). Other ladies, in later years included Princess Mele Siuilikutapu and Papiloa Foliaki (beside others) were elected as People's representative at Parliament. Professor Konaiholeva Helu Thaman from Foa, Ha'apai and Dr. 'Ana Maui

⁵⁷³ The last person take the role of Kavafusi as appointed by 'Ahome'e himself was Taniela Mahe Pikokivaka Liava'a son of Moala and Lupe Liava'a of 'api ko Faka'Uvea, Ha'avakatolo. (d. 2006).

Taufe'ulungaki from Kotu and Hihifo, Niuatoputapu with many other ladies played significant roles in Pacific education and Tonga. Other Tongan women were ordained as Methodist ministers testified to an actual grafting of Tongan indigenous values, Christian teachings and Western civilization and educational values all added up to their upbringing in Tongan *Tala-Tukufakaholo* way.

Last, but no means the least, an aunt Sela Kasinga, the sister of the late Bishop Sione Kami of Tongoleleka, Ha'apai was an extraordinary woman of genius, her intelligence as an orator and poet, outclassed any storyteller that I know of. In a second, she can narrate a whole story of the history from memory, to honour His Majesty at the Palace of Tonga. Fakafeta'i e ma'u koloa Sela!

It should be stated also, there was nothing ever in the *Tala-Tukufakaholo* that stopped women from any opportunities in life. The latest reported incidences of men's brutality against women in Tonga are of human individual shortfalls and selfishness. The women's status in the system is still high. Their reverence to the Tapu system and staying meek and submissive, in my view, was their own free choice. Women ordained as ministers in the Methodist church and other women ascended in education and claimed various leadership roles - meaning that all developments were available to any woman as declared in Item I of the Tonga Constitution, 1875.⁵⁷⁴

Historically, Tongan hierarchy was more Patriarchal – where men lead and acted brutally at times. But, as time went on, with Christianity, Western civilization and Education women rose from their cultural status of being *molumalu fakafefine* because of the dictate of Tapu Culture, to being outgoing and fiercely brutal as in Toe'umu's case. Elizabeth Wood-Ellem described "*Molumalu*" as "the quality considered by men to be appropriate for women, meekness, submissiveness,"⁵⁷⁵ The investment of the Western culture and the Biblical Christian taught women to have liberty to be educated and attain knowledge and wisdom to exercise in another level of *Molumalu* – which defines them as 'being effectively constructive with their wisdom and passionate with their womanhood to counter-balance what had been for centuries hard handled by the patriarchal society of Tonga'.

In all, women have contributed hugely to further build up, enriched and consolidated the *Tala-Tukufakaholo* of Tonga.

⁵⁷⁴ See Appendix D in Latukefu, *Church and State in Tonga: The Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries and Political Development, 1822-1875*. (19750, 252.

⁵⁷⁵ See in Glossary Wood-Ellem, *Queen Salote of Tonga: The Story of an Era, 1900-1965*. (1999), 305.

CHAPTER NINE:
Concluding *TALA-TUKUFAKAHOLO* by suggesting Holistic Oralectic Method of Tongan History and Historiography.

9.1. Utilizing the Past for the benefit of the Future.

Having identified the problem, the thesis has tried to prove what Edward Said asserted, “Everybody has a history....to be human is to have and make history. That is what distinguishes us from animals.” I hope I have proved that Tonga has its own history through its own oral historiography according to her people’s own beliefs, lens and views. Three case studies provided evidences to illustrate the argument that the development of the fourpartite Ha’a Tu’i of Tonga through Tongan oral *historio-art and crafting* of Tala in human embodiments realized in the existence of the survived dynasty to date. This was followed by the second case study which proved that Lo’auans were the first scientific *historio-graphers* of Tongan oral history - in articulating the event of history, the associated items in context, and its functional usage for political unification and forum of democratic governance for the island nation. The associated protocol and its organic features all emanated naturally from the events of the history it sought to narrate. Suggesting the alternative in this whole thesis, I ask the same question asked by Epeli Hau’ofa, a father who has paved the way for me, in education, history and historiography; “Where do we go from here?” and “What should or could we do?” Hau’ofa, among other considerations answered his own question stated; “we Oceanians must find ways of reconstructing our pasts that are our own.”⁵⁷⁶ As “Oceanians” that is the basis of this claim for alternative; we “must find ways of reconstructing our pasts that are our own.”

On the foregone pages, I have attempted to “rethink Tongan history and historiography and Pacific historiography” in the context suggested by Ian Campbell that Tongan historiography is

⁵⁷⁶ Hau'ofa, "Epilogue: Pasts to Remember." (2000), 457.

“colonial.” In response, as an Oceanian, I have tried to set the stage for a *Talanoa Tala-Tukufakaholo* and have grafted an Oralectic framework that maps out my journey from the insular to the global, from the past to the present, and from colonial to autonomy and independence.

Oralectic is the only way through to reconstruct our past in and history in our own oral historiography. Only in our own oral historiography, can we claim our own realities in our own lens as suggested. It should be viewed as a way of utilizing the past for the benefit of the future.

9.2. THE PEDAGOGY OF *TALA-TUKUFAKAHOLO*: AN ALTER-NATIVE ORALECTIC FRAMEWORK.

INTRODUCTION

This outline encapsulates what I have strategically found in the development and findings of this thesis as pedagogy (Teaching and Learning) of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* Oralectic framework (TTF) for history and historio-graphy in terms of historio-art and crafting, historio-graphing, and historio-grafting:

- **Context:** From the art and Crafting era, the sky-god Tangaloa ‘Eitumatubu’a, a migrant[s] from the sky came down on the land made it Tapu, cohabited with a Tongan princess to formally *graph* the original Tongan Ha’a Tu’i (950AD) on the Tala-Tukufakaholo as *corpus logus* of Tonga. The progeny of that cohabitation founded the Polynesian empire that ruled Oceania for some time. In terms of the framework of “context” and “text”, I refer to 150 isolated atolls scattered in the geographic coordinates of 20.00 S and 175.00 W., as the “context” and four-partite Ha’a Tu’i Tonga dynasties and their respective kainga as all being descended from Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu’a and ‘Ilaheva Va’epopua as the “text” of Tongan history *per se*. In oral historiographic terms, its relations to other contexts are being studied in earlier chapters; to the Hebrews, Greeks, German, and Latin. The Pacific should also be made in a class re-view of Pacific history. Stand up “Cut” and “build” in the *Ta-ē Langa* method and in the *Kakala* Methodology, start by *Toli* – pick and select “facts of history” from the vast Ocean of “Facts of the Past”, and *Tui* – articulate facts into the thread of an argument to make our garland of Tongan story, and *Luva* – present it as our history to complement the foreign views on stage.
- **Tongan Worldview** – Upon the three-decked world Tongan people viewed the world as creation of “*Tu – ‘i-Tonga*” meaning ‘god in Tonga’, and the humans in it

are the re-creations through cohabitations of god *'Eitu[matubu'a]* from of old portrait in the name of the first Tu'i Tonga *'Abo-'Eitu* as an indigenous form of incarnational theology. Christian teachings consolidated it, evident in the government's Seal of Tonga; "*Ko e 'Otua mo Tonga ko hoku Tofi'a*" (God and Tonga are my inheritance)⁵⁷⁷ the build-up of indigenous incarnational *Tala-'otua* – “Otua” as God, the creator and to be re-created in human forms. Symbolized in the duty entrusted to humanity for pro-creation pronounced by God upon the womb of the *fefine* woman. “Tongan” land tenure symbolizes the duty of *tangata e fonua* men to own and guard the land because it is their mother – they wear Ta'ovala for that respect. Thus, the inheritance of the *Tu'i Tonga* and all leaders (*fonua*-state, *lotu*-church, *kainga*-family and all) must account to the dignity of the *fefine* as the Land. *tangata* – as embodiments of *Tala* – to embrace the integrity of the Tongans *Lo-[lo]-tu* – in awesome sense of worth ship,⁵⁷⁸ and to take care of the Fonua – Land as their mother. Both men and women performed these activities and practices in their human interactions and inter-connections but most of all to honour their God. the ultimate creator of all, humans, characters and all.

- **National Policy** – *'Tapu* and *Lo[lo]tu* – Tapu culture is the heart of Tala-Tukufakaholo – the unwritten national policy of human existence in the above stated world of the Tongans. This depicts the inherited *toto'i 'eiki* - Tapu blood successively passed down from the *Tu* in the immemorial past. *Lo-lo-tu* defined the innate awesome experiences often expressed by the people of Tonga to their

⁵⁷⁷ I view this Seal of Tonga as the historio-grafting of the Tongan worldview that encapsulates the tripartite development of historio-art n crafting; historio-graphing and the historio-grafting era.

⁵⁷⁸ Tala-Tukufakaholo principle of land tenure holds the land of Tonga was fairly distributed to Tangata only and not the fefine in the former monarchical government of Tonga – Tangata the was only the land owner - meaning men were the tauhi of the fefine – fonua. It was illogical in Tongan land tenure to allocate land to fefine only because the fefine could not be the tauhi of a fefine. The law of Tonga (1875) based on biblical ground enjoined, in my view, the Genesis story – there were two inheritances or tofi'a - the land (kelekele) and the pro-creative power womb (fonua) where the Land was given to man to keep and the pro-creative womb was given to women to treasure. The men would re-create the land and God will re-create humanity in the womb of the woman who will be tauhi - well looked after by the man. With great dismay, I was quite shocked to learn that nothing about these traditional Land Tenure of Tonga is briefly introduced in the Booklet of the Royal Land Commission as in 'Eiki Paloni Fielakepa et al., "Komisoni Faka-Tu'i Ki He Kelekele (Royal Land Commision Tonga): Ngaahi Fakamatala Fekau'aki Mo E Ngaue 'a E Komisoni Faka-Tu'i Ki He Kelekele (Information Booklet on the Work of the Royal Land Commission)," ed. Royal Land Commission(Kingdom of Tonga: Royal Land Commission, 2010-11).

Tu'i in all occasions. See for yourself every royal occasion from a state funeral to a Taumafa kava, or from a *fakame'ite* and to a state *katoanga*. It is all a *Kato mo hono Anga* – the *mamalu* and *molumalu* of the respect paid comes from the hearts of people. Watch the latest state occasion of the HM. Queen Mother's funeral in Tonga, 01 Mar. 2017 and see for yourself what it is all about.

- **Curriculum** – *Ulungaanga FakaTapu tapu mo e Vei-tapui* - ‘a belief and total reliance in a god – the supernatural’ – defined as the ‘*FakaTonga*’. I use Thaman's definition; “a belief and total reliance in supernatural” qualities of the leaders of state, church and family, and “beliefs” in their presence as embodiments of Tapu are Tongan way of life. Observed in all states, churches, and social occasions from ‘*Ko e ngaahi FakaTapu o Pangai*’ - traditional and cultural salutations and honour of Tapu beings, in the context of observation of the seven Tapu.⁵⁷⁹ Curriculum of Tapu is observed by all citizens of the land and the dignified place of women in the whole Tongan hierarchy.
- **Syllabus** – *Anga fakaTonga –Faka'apa'apa, Faka'aki'akimui, Ta'efieauna, 'Ofa ongongofua* – the four cardinal virtues of being Tongan. The distance is kept by all in all levels and occasions. One knows it's ‘*apa'apa*’ entry point into the forum, its place of operation, and what and when to say in the social forum of state, church and kainga. The individual person ‘*ilo'i kita*’ - “knows one-self” and is “*faka'aki'akimui*” – lowly and humble. This is wealth to be taught and learnt, for very soon the new civilization will demolish these values, and Campbell's argument will soon be right. We will only value our history in a “nostalgic” sense.
- **Schemes** – Sources of history are *Tala'otua* (theological), *Talatupu'a* (cosmological), *Talaefonua* (ethnological), *Tala'akainga* (genealogical), *Talatalaifale* (ethical). *Talanoa* forms of presentations will all provide the contexts upon which the tripartite modules of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* can be practically thrived and contextually realized. One who studies Tongan past – must have a fair understanding of all these schemes of things in the Tongan way of life.
- **Module** - *Tala-Tukufakaholo* – in epistemological framework of *art n crafts*, scientific rationalizations and documentations *graphing*, and *graffiti* re-creations

⁵⁷⁹ In Tonga the burial of the dead corpse is done with sea sand – a civilization from of old.

and hybridizing of the received Tala is doing justice to the past and the creator. All of them are called to ecumenically participate in all ventures of *Tou-lotu; Tou-febu'i; Tou-ngane, tou-tu'u, tou-lalanga; tou-langanga; tou-puaka etc.*

- **Units** – Story telling forms of *fananga*,⁵⁸⁰ *laulau, upe, faiva, hiva*, - laments, chanting, lullaby, oral, documents, *Talanoa*, dance. *Ta-langa* – to ‘cut’ and ‘build’ in the communal gathering in *faikava* and *kainga polave*, a circular spiral format of the *Heliaki* - Oralectic articulations using the wisdom of the people on land in symbolic and metaphoric ways. Enjoy the spiral down-turn of the talk and the curve of *heliaki* message, and the depth of the thoughts as they being argued, only to pass on the message from one to another, and from the past to the future, and from here to the beyond.

Conclusion.

This course outline aims to shift the learners’ native views from accounting to the outsiders to accounting to the insiders, the people of the society under study. Moreover, learners should also extend their knowledge from a *fakamotu* - local islander to a *fakafonua* - national and then to a *fakalukufua* - international ecumenical level of dialogue for further weaving of versions. The instructor should be able to provide the *fuo* - form of learning while the learner acquired the *uho* - essence of knowledge most befitting *Tala-Tukufakaholo* framework.

The future is here now. Let us stand up and work to convey what has been passed on to us by our ancestors.

Appreciatively, let us forget about suppression, marginalization and colonization. We can enjoy being suppressed because there is always an alter-native way. Enjoy living in the margin, because we have our own share of nativity and originality here on our coast – because that is the margin of Oceania. Take on the challenge of being colonized because we can create our own colony within the colonized situation. That colony within the colonized has its own graft of the indigenous dialectic and new song for us to sing of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* for the new generation. Take it as the conclusion of utilizing the past for the benefit of the future.

Here it says;

Ko Hai?..... Ko Tala!
Ko Au!‘Oku Tuku!
Ko Momo!Ke Fakaholoholo.

⁵⁸⁰ See a work by Emanuele Paku Tausinga Tausinga, "*Fananga* for Literacy Development in the Early Years of General Education."

FINAL SUMMATION OF THE THESIS:

This title re-defines History and historiography in the logic and philosophy encapsulated in the Tongan term *TALA-TUKUFAKAHOLO* that I have theorized in after engaging in its study in this whole thesis. I am contended to suggest its definition as Historio-arts-and-crafting; Historio-graphing; and Historio-grafting in holistic terms for an alter-native historiography of 'Tongan (national) oral historiography from their stories, tradition, culture and Tala-e-fonua through people's lens and perspective.

The functional purpose of proposing *Tala-Tukufakaholo* as an alter-native framework of history and historiography is in two folds:

1. To shift the Tonga people from conventional to alternative and a shift from arguing about the colonized situation of the Pacific, and move to spend time and energy in preparing the younger generations in a positive way. I hope this thesis has helped to bring forth some indigenous realities that had remained dormant within Tongan culture for the awareness of the present, the first and second generations of the Tongan diaspora. With that understanding, to face the new realities, and move on to sing the new song of holism that our ancestors have already passed on to us, embedded in our memories, in our hearts, cultures, traditions and history. To do that this thesis has suggested ways prepared by Thaman for Pacific Education, Taufe'ulungaki for Tongan Education, and Ian Campbell, Okusitino Mahina, 'Eveli Hau'ofa for historiography in Tonga.
2. As the Hawaiian scholar, Robert Borofsky stated, to explore the "Gordian Knots" which entangle Pacific history to discover how we can open up dialogue and conversations.⁵⁸¹ Moreover, it is from such dialogue and conversations, that there could be a consideration of the views of the colonized, who; are the real silenced category of society.

I remember a radio talk by Tongan lawyer Nalesoni Tuinauvai Tupou on Radio Tonga FM 87.5 in Nuku'alofa. The aim of the program was to talk about the 1875 Tongan Constitution. Tupou was questioned by the reporter at news time and he said; "*Ko e Konisitutone 'o Tonga 'oku lau ia 'e he kau ako mo e kau loea 'o e Pasifiki ko e fu'u saieniti 'oku mohe.*" – "Tongan Constitution is viewed by most scholars and lawyers of the Pacific as a sleeping giant." After thinking about the statement for a while, I questioned Tupou on this statement and he stated; "we need to wake up the Constitution

Gunson, "Tongan Historiography: Shamanic Views of Time and History."⁵⁸¹ Borofsky, "An Invitation." 29.

and let us have dialogue, but we need not ask him to touch us. The Constitution is a being in itself and it can have great impact upon the society if we wake him up to come to us.” Further on, Tupou on this conversation stated; “what Donald Trump is doing for USA, he is awakening the true Spirit of the Constitution of America to wake up and it will exercise its power in a very lively manner in response to the call from the society.”⁵⁸²

Tala-Tukufakaholo is the *corpus logus* of the ancestral community, and it had constituted the whole life of the Tonga people; Ha’a Tu’i, Hou’eiki and Kainangaefonua for ten centuries now. It may, in my view, be called the constitution of Tongan people in indigenous form. As in Nalesoni Tupou’s view of the Tongan Modern Constitution, *Tala-Tukufakaholo* is the oral form of Tongan indigenous Constitution. It operates from behind the curtain, watching the society. It does not appear to the fore as a person or being, yet it is there watching all generations of Tonga from immemorial past.

Tala-Tukufakaholo is the Queen Matilda watching her women weaving a Tapestry in the Pacific; checking upon how the Tongan people would do justice to her instructions about the pattern of life and the design of moral behaviour that people could read from one’s life and behaviour as the women did with the Tapestry. Tongan history and historiography is the Oral Tapestry in its *Fale-Lalava* – weaving house. Tongan history *Falas* – mats had been woven by outsiders from their point of view, and to their versions, we appreciatively say from our Tongan cultural perspective they are; “*Fala Papata; ka ko e papata pe ka na’e alanga.*” – woven mats and yet they are their own versions.

The literature shows that outsiders have done their homework. (see Ch.4. Literature review), and from an inside perspective, they had been weaving their Tongan history *Fala* to show Tongans their versions of us and ours – and that provides for the “what as?” question.

From the insider’s perspective, this thesis asks for a space to weave our own mat, through our own lens, and oral history. Tongan saying goes; *Fala Lalanga ‘i Fale Lalava* – mats (of history) woven in the house of weavers and designers, according to its own rule, and protocol, and for its own social purposes.

The oral tradition of *Kauhala’uta* holds, there were only two *Fale-Lalava* in 19th century Tonga; one was in *Tungua* the residence of *Tamaba* and one at *‘Ahofakasiu* in *Lapaba*. The last *Fala-Lalanga* wove at the *Fale Lalava* was the *Kei Hingoa* that was *Ta’ovala* worn by the princes – Tupou IV and Fatafehi Tu’ipelehakee on their royal wedding in the 1940’s. The protocol of weaving at the *Fale-Lalava* was that weavers were to prepare their *fe’unu* – strip of bandanus leaves and sit down in the middle of

⁵⁸² Nalesoni Tu’inauvai Tupou, Talanoa, Auckland, 09.02.2017.

the Fale awaiting the advice from the Tamaha (Tungua) or the Tu'i Tonga (Lapaha) who would select the *kupesi* of the Lalava – pattern of the plaited *kafa* on the *alanga fale 'olunga*. The weavers weave and portray that kupesi upon the mat that is to be woven. The social function for which the mat is to be woven, is dictated by the kupesi from the plaited kafa that bound the *alanga fale 'olunga* together. That is how the designs of the Fale is being transferred to be used for a *lalanga fala* – weaving of a mat. Today's generation of Tonga do not take note of that aspect of Tongan culture. As weavers, we sit down at the centre of the society today and lift our eyes to read the plaited patterns on *Tala-Tukufakaholo* from our ancestors and try to weave them accordingly onto our own lives to prepare a mat for the next generation.

The same comment for *Fala Papata* would also be made upon a *Fala* that is woven and not done well according to the will of the ancestors. The woven mat must portray well the kupesi – plaited pattern of the kafa on the *alanga fale 'olunga*.

This thesis asks the young generations to slow down the process and study this alternative pathway carefully, and take a walk backward to the future to be blessed by the ancestors before we can redress Tonga in into its new wedding gown and marry it with her new husband, the globalized world.

H.R.H Crown Prince Tupouto'a aspired for Tonga, "we need to sing a new song."⁵⁸³ That song is not a new song, (in this respect) but the revived old song of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* holistic framework which encapsulates all; the Art and Crafting, the Scientific Rational Graphing, and the re-creating era of today. From the genetic regeneration of Ha'a Tu'i 'o Tonga, to the Kava rituals as symbol of unity for all Tongans around the world, and the continuous re-living of the Mohefo to reproduce a hybridized lineage that had ruling Tonga to date. A Ta'anga or an individual person's life is, in my view, to be likened to a woven Tapestry hanging on the wall of time, which one can read through it the wise advices of the Queen Matilda of the past and the ethos of the ancestral past of Tonga and their knowledge of life. We are the Perpetua and Felicity of the day, we weave and graft the veil of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* to present to the next generation. The future should be able to read through this *Tala-Tukufakaholo* veil the narratives told chronologically in generational orders; the letters and spirit of our ancestors who are the owners and custodians of *Tala-Tukufakaholo*, the sleeping giant of Oceania.

⁵⁸³ HRH Crown Prince Tupouto'a, "Foreword," in *Songs and Poems of Queen Salote*, ed. Elizabeth Wood-Ellem(Tonga: Vava'u Press, 2004).

Our call is simple; receive what had been given from the past through our Tala, embody it into one's hearts, mind and souls, and recreate it for the better. In all, let us write history in *Tala-Tukufakabolo* way on the flesh, hearts and spirits of living people, as it was in the beginning of life and so it will be forever. This way of *crafting, graphing and grafting* history will live for ever as a practical *Tala-Tukufakabolo way of life* and not only as a theorized *form of thought* on papers and books that feeds only the minds of the generations.

The physical human generation, people and all tangible realities are, merely, however, in my own view, embodiments of real things that pre-existed in their *Tala-logos* forms. Only in this way, can *Tala-Tukufakabolo* claim the essential value of being the *corpus logus* of wisdom and knowledge of Tonga, if not for the whole global society.

I believe, all nations have their local *Tala-Tukufakabolo* like mine. But, their local has been suppressed, marginalized and or rejected at the wake of the scientific rationalization period from Greece in the 5th century BC. That colonial situation was further aggravated by the European political move for imperialism and colonization using Western strategies of education to change the worldviews of the weaker nations and dominate the whole world. Economic globalization with its “one size fits all” and the “market-driven” economy had been boosted by globalization in the wake of the Asian and Chinese migration. Conflicts in Middle-Eastern countries have flooded the world with refugees. Alas, the Pacific, where the Chinese take advantage of the islanders ignorant have devoured all things big and small under their pockets economic wise. While islanders are busy doing their own island things, the *Mokohunu* – sea cucumbers of the Pacific seas have been harvested and bulk marketed to Asian markets, leaving only the imbalance in the sea life cycles. What next for the Pacific on the global table? What else but to return to basics.

Basically, yet, universally, global society has only one *Tala-Tukufakabolo*, the only one thing traditional is that we have all been HUMAN from the beginning of life. Yet, compartmentalized by different cultures, nations, race and tribes, life preference, and beliefs. This thesis work on *Tala-Tukufakabolo* is just an island Oralectic view from a local point envisioning a miniature of the whole drama of suppression, marginalization and colonization.

Our call today is to look at ways from the indigenous that would bring all human beings together in this divisive era. Since, we are all human beings, we have that one thing in common, the breath of life at a given moment in time and space. We are here for a purpose. That purpose is to unify all into one, and elevate from local and insular claims into a more universal common factor that works for the benefit of all and not one. For the common cause of being Human.

Alternative is only a way around the stagnated ways of running life according to the will of the powerful, the millionaires, the so called academic elites, the artificially approved wise group of the world.

If we are human, Edward Said “we have a history.” That history should help all of us to stand up and work together for the Common cause of being HUMAN. We share one common cause – the breath of Life from the beginning, as it was and is, and always will be. No more no less. Universally, we share one thing – the Breath of Life. *Tala-Tukufakaholo*, the unseen raft of all realities is travelling along time and reminds us all –

“In the past God spoke to our forefathers through prophets at many times and in various ways, but in these last days he has spoken to us by his Son,...” (Hebrews.1:1-2a.)

Tala-Tukufakaholo reminds all of us, that when people as tangible realities move on in life (deaths) they seem to only give up the breath of Life and leave the raft to return to the Fonua - motherland – the womb from where all humanity came, as in the book of Genesis. *Tala-Tukufakaholo* is the raft that reveals this all, as it travels in the pace of time, steered only by the wind (breath of God) as it travels through space towards the unknown future which lies beyond, there, as Hau’ofa asserted “our eternal homeland”.

Here, let us sing our new *Graffiti - Ta’anga - Tala-Tukufakaholo*:

**Ko Hai?..... Ko Tala!
Ko Au!Na’e Tuku!
Ko Momo!Ke Fakaholoholo.
Ko e Tala-Tukufakaholo ia ‘o Tonga
Ko e ‘Otua mo Tonga ko ho ta tofi’a
Ko e kakala na’e tui pea kako fakaManulua
Ko e Ngafingafi ‘o e Fala Lalanga ‘a e Matilda
Mo e veili ‘o e tui fakavainiaku ‘e he Perpetua
Ki he Kato Anga ‘a e ‘Otua mo e Tonga kotoa!**

Glossary:

'Ahovaleamoemapa – the blessed moment a lady experienced when she is chosen by the *Tu'i* to be the *ma'itaki* (principal wife). Her exclamation says, *ko e 'aho ee 'ete vale he mapa!*

'Apsia fiefia – an event of wedding, with associated celebrations of the newly married couple, a joyful experience.

'Apsia mamahi – an event of family deaths, funeral which associated a mourning experience.

'Ataa-mai – the whole reality is conceptualised in the mind.

'Ata-mai – the shadow of reality is perceived in one's mind.

'Eiki – a chief, and or a chiefly attribute that is defined by the *toto* – sacred blood connection to the *Tu'i* through re-generation by *mohefo* – cohabitation or marriage. The middle class person or in plural form of *hon'eiki* – group of persons of Tongan social hierarchy that function to mediate the *langi*-sky related realities of the *Tu'i* class and the *fonua*-earthen related realities of the *kainangaefonua*-grassroot class. In a pyramid[ic] form it is hierarchical, but in a practical form of life, the three exist as one group of living people defined by different roles for the society as a whole.

'Esi – a terraced royal tomb of a *Tu'i*.

'Ilo – perceptions, knowledge received from the deep, attained from an interaction with the environment, or deduced from a form of syllogism in scientific term.

'Ofaongofua – kindness and love, one of the four Tongan cardinal virtues.

'Ofefine – a daughter of a father and a mother as parent.

'Ohoana – a married man or woman.

'Olive – *Murraia paniculata* sp. A herbal shrub with scented flowers used as mark of boundary.

'Olunga he Kaliloa – children head rested on the stretched arm of their mother or father to receive familial *ethos* instructions about good life as their lullaby before going to bed.

'Ulungaanga – attitudes, seat of morality in a person's life.

'Unoho – husband or wife; act of sexual intercourse.

A'usia – experiential thinking; a state of understanding attained through experiential thinking.

Aata-mai – a point in the process of describing Tongan thinking mind, a vague shadow of a reality is conceived in the mind.

Ako – the form of learning by way of informal, non-formal or formal method of education aiming to relate reality to life in practical, spiritual or abstract way. In this context, the *Tala-Tukufakaholo* as tri-partite definition of history is re-defined along Thaman's definition of education and re-defined by Taufē'ulungaki for Tonga as: (i). Informal – a controlled form of learning that is informed by a received *Tala* from the past (deep), and its mandatory craft in context is always informed by the art of cultural logic, and spiral philosophy of the received reality, which successively continued against time towards the end of its journey in the unknown future – eg. **Tala-Tukufakaholo**. (i). Non-formal – an informal form of learning and practice that is not informed by any outside formal agenda from beyond but solely directed by the informal past tradition and customary ways of doing, enriched from the practical interactions of the person[s] in society with the confronted realities of life in context in a particular time. eg. Lotu. (ii). Formal – the disciplined form of systematic investigation that is informed by scientific strategy, and rational discipline which aimed at a discovery of facts to answer a particular question[s]. The two, in total make up the suggested [w]holistic framework of *Tala-Tukufakaholo* argued in this thesis for global History and Historiography.

'Alaa! – a deep sense of belongingness and closeness of a person to another or 'my most dearest' as in salutation of a speech or a letter as in: *'Alaa si'oto 'ofa'anga!* *'Alaa si'oku foha!* – meaning my dearest lover or son. On another view of an indigenous definition may suggest, the presence of this term *'Alaa* associated with a glottal stop on its pronunciation is an old Tonga term of language which could be said, an adoption from the Hebrew term *Allah*, which is commonly used by the Palestinians and Moslems to address the Living God.

'Alofi – the circle of seated persons on the official Kava forum.

Alopalavu – a sea-scape on sea-route, the meeting point of the warm sea-water and the cold water from the deep.

Alter-native - is 'using *native's* insights to *alter* existing knowledge and modes, and to *alter* the *native* insights if they tend to serve the interests of colonizers/outsideers rather than the [insiders] colonized/locals'.⁵⁸⁴

'Apa'apa - the master of ceremony franked the two semi-circles of 'alofo - seated 'eiki and *matapule* of the Tongan indigenous political forum of Taumafa Kava.

eidenai – (Gk.) 'ilo - the knowledge resulted from an enquiry or a systematic investigation.

Fa'e – biological mother or her sisters.

Fa'e tangata applies to brother(s) of one's mother.

Faa Samoa - Samoan way – refers to the tribe with sacred origin.

Fahu – the person descended of a sister, his or her exclusive rights and dignity upon the children and properties of the brothers. This is the basis of brother-sister Tapu, the blood of the sister is higher than the brother, thus from which derived sister's children are 'eiki to men's children, so thus women are *fabu* to men. *Fabu* – the sister's children's cultural right over the brother's children life and properties.

Faiva – art of performing; whether in carpentry, navigation, dances, craftsmanship's, music, etc.

Faiva-ta'anga - performing arts, dancing.

Faiva-Ta Fotunga – Sculpture; patternist, designer.

Faka'aki'akimui - one of the cardinal virtues of being Tongan, lowly, humble and compassion.

Faka'apa'apa – Tongan curriculum of relationships; attitude of respect, where an individual humbles oneself against the presiding chief and others as superior than oneself; the leading cardinal virtue expected of a Tongan person, respect. It defines the distance observed by one person to another in terms of relationships.

Fakaehaua - colonization – unless otherwise stated, refers to "a territory of the mind which is under foreign occupation and control"; an outside power which dominate, manipulate and taking control of a land, governance of a weak island nation for a political purpose, instituting it as a colony under their control.

Fakafonua'i e lotu - 'acculturation' the idea that the Gospel had been transformed by the recipient culture to become the nation's religion; taking tradition as priority over the Christian teachings.

Fakafotu - nephews and nieces of a woman

Fakaholo - successively re-viewed, re-created; passed down, handover of received Tala from predecessors along time and space.

Fakakainga - communal *kainga* way; the interactively relating in communion as human persons; conceivably embodied and spirally framed the received Tala realities in the member's whole being.

FakaloTu'i e fonua - 'enculturation' - the idea that the Gospel essentially transformed the recipient culture; taking Christian Gospel teachings as priority over tradition.

Fakamatu'a - when members in the Kava Circle move from one sitting posture to another; the marriage of a son or daughter is pre-arranged by the parents.

Fakamuifonua - a very formal procedure of preparing Kava employed only in the making of Kava for the Tu'i Tonga; the most original and traditional way of mixing and performing the Kava in Kauhala'uta way.

Fakata'ane - the sitting position for Tongan men, knees widely extended, flat on the ground, feet folded beneath legs, body inclined forward, elbows across upper legs; sit as a man and not as a lady.

Fakatakape - to clean the bowl rim with a *fau* fiber from bark of hibiscus sp.

FakaTapu – a salutation to Tapu person and honour observed for the dignity and integrity of all persons as form of respect in a speech.

⁵⁸⁴ I borrow this definition from Vaka'uta, 2010.

Fakataue - to mix very strong kava in a new bowl and bathe the edge of the bowl repeatedly with the strainer, to give the bowl's interior the kava stain.

Fakatomo - the central tap root or body of a large kava root, not chopped into small pieces but left intact.

FakaTonga - the Tongan Tapu culture, emanated from the belief and total reliance in the supernatural; performing of a religious culture in the way of addressing the 'Tu'i as incarnation of sky-god Tangaloa. Tongan way depicts a 'belief and a reliance in supernatural' in an individual person's attitude and behaviour.

Fe'au'auhi - thick kava made from the small roots of the plant.

Fale 'alo – the sons and daughters of a 'Tu'i and queen.

Falehanga – household.

Fale tama – the collective term applied to sons and daughters of a 'Tu'i, as in the 38 children of 'Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui.

Faletu'uloto – the name of the residence of the father Mumui at Kolomotu'a, meaning the father or the chief is resided at centre and his 38 children surrounded him.

Fananga – the story-telling in the cultural logic of *Tala-Tukufakabolo* way.

Fanau – the parents' biological children.

Fanongonongo tokoto - the orally received *Tala* is passed on to children when they are head-rested on the *kaliloa* arms of the fathers and mothers at bed time; it also connotes the verbal passing on of message from one person to another in Tongan social setting. On another level of interpretation, it refers to the act of passing on of genes from male to female for the purpose of re-producing progeny and re-generation. It is through this particular act that *Tala* (DNA) of the past was being passed on through human persons and blood through generations to generations to date.

Fatongia – obligation and duties to be fulfilled by lower class to the 'Tu'i Tonga.

Fau – a plant of *hibiscus sp.*; a fiber of the inner bark of the fau hibiscus family is used as a strainer.

Fekitetele – royal burial terrace of 'Tu'i Tonga Bau and 'Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava located at Mataika, Vava'u, Tonga.

Feletoa – the fortress at Mataika, Vava'u, erected by Ha'a Ngata Tupu woman named Toe'umu in revenge for the killing of Tupouniua by Tupoutu'a in Ha'apai in early 1800 AD, It has six gates namely; *Fatungakoa*, *Taukotofa*, *Talipaea*, *Talifufui*, *Polata'ane* and *Faleula*.

Fie'eiki – to mimic chiefly attributes or to be snobbish.

Fihu – fine soft white-mat.

Foha – a son.

Fokololo – the navigators; the category of *kainga* talented with navigation and seamanship skills, they are competent of Oceania sea-scapes and sea-routes. They take responsibility of the Tongan navigation activities and operation of the sailing of the *kalia* on the Pacific Ocean.

Fono - the *To* – sugarcane, pork, food or relish presented at an official or informal Kava forum.

Fonua – land, in symbolic usage it also refers to kava, governance, people, womb, and graveyard;

Fonua – the land and people. When Taufa'ahau dedicated Tonga to the God of heaven in

Ha'a – tribe, clan or lineage. *Ha'a* – four-partite of blood lineages; each blood line headed by a 'Tu'i; which gave rise to the four dynastic lineages that ruled Tonga to date. Each lineage is made of the 'eiki and *kainangae fonua* groups. There are four main Ha'a of blood line in Tonga; the original Tonga *Ha'a 'Tu'i Tonga*; the Fiji-influenced *Ha'a Takalana* (King Kalakaua, Hawaii); the Samoa influenced *Tu'i Kanokupolu*; and the re-merging and mingling of the three traditional blood lines to form what I term as the 'eiki *tete'e* – where the highest blood line realized in the person of 'Tu'i Tonga Taufa'ahau Tupou IV. This dynastic lineage is suggested in this thesis as the Ha'a 'Tu'i Tonga Tupou. I use the title 'Tu'i Tonga as prefix for this lineage because through inter-marriage of *Mohefo* practices, the blood of the 'Tu'i Tonga line had been dominant through the persons involved in the whole merging processes with the Ha'a 'Tu'i Kanokupolu and Ha'a Takalana to, in my view formalize a new lineage of the Ha'a 'Tu'i Tonga Tupou line to its present status. Through

Sinaitakala 'i Langi Leka, (married Tapu'osi) her descendants were fahu to Tu'i Lau in Fiji. On one state funeral in Fiji HM. Tupou IV was fahu to the deceased.

Ha'a Ngata Motu'a – the original clan of *Gata*, the first *Tu'i Kanokupolu*; they take control of the Kanokupolu protocol.

Ha'ele – regal term for walk used only for the *Tu'i*.

Hala – road or pathway used for the presentation of fatongia-gifts at a funeral or wedding, and

Hau – term used in reference for or of the highest political ruler of the nation.

Heilala – *Garcinia sessilis* sp. Identified by their flowers; Male plants are *fisi'iniu* and female plants are *pulu*. Heilala is a *beliaki* for the person of the *Tu'i Tonga*. *Heliaki* – metaphors or metaphoric usage of Tongan language in poetry. e.g. *beliaki* – symbolic, metaphoric, aesthetic, artistic, imaginative creation using language, and in my own coinage, this refers to oralectic way of a symbolic communication between the *kaingangaefonua* group and the *Tu'i* group. The *hou'eiki* served as the *taula 'eiki*- priests acted *mata 'o e pule fatongia* – in the face of the *Tu'i*. Three classes of Tongan society; *Tu'i* – the sky-god class – related the sky-values to Tongan hierarchical system. The *'eiki* – were *taula* who operated in intermediary position as priests to relate the sky-related realities with the earth-related values to form what is being expressed nowadays as Tongan culture. The *Kainangaefonua* – the group that presented the earth-based values of life to the *'eiki* – *fatongia*. I believe, those processes functionally authenticated the dynamic of the whole social system of Tongan culture and social interactions vibrantly alive to date.

Hiapo – *Broussonetia papyrifera* sp. the paper mulberry plants; its bark is bounded with a *ike* to make tapa clothes.

Historio-Art-and-Craft[ing] – is a *Tala-Tukufakabolo* in itself; the art and craft (theocratic, mythical) era and processes of artistic crafting of knowledge, creative, imaginative, and inventive belief-based realities on human, objects and matters as versions of the received *Tala* of the past. The social realities, practises pertaining to the era of this art and craft culture is rooted in the context of the community from time immemorial, prior to the scientific rational period of historiography.

Historio-grafting – the present age of *graffiti* – the merging, infusions and inter-mingling of views, the grafting the old (arts and crafts) and new (science and reason) for the purpose of re-viewing, re-creation and re-presentation of hybridized social realities for the purpose of historiography.

Historio-graphing – the age of scientific *graphon* – Gk., writing and rationalization, logical deductions and inductions of theoretical disciplined discoveries and inventions, written on papyrus and paper-form materials for the purpose of recording past events. This way of historiography was only begun in the 5th century BC., by the father of history Herodotus of Greece and is the dominating system of the field. The narrow interpretation of world history by the Greek influenced scientific and rational ways of investigation for the truth of an event.

Hohoko – genealogy; the successive inheritances of blood connections in oral, persons, and

Hulufe – *Nephrolepis birsutula* sp. fern.

Kainanga e fonua – the symbolic term for the grass root group of people who served the society by relating the earth based values to the cultural system. This 'down to earth', grass-root group of the society had been identified as such because they had no blood relation to the *Tu'i* or *'eiki* of the society – thus they had no place at Pulotu – the purgatory world of the Tongans...

Kainga – a confederated group or units of blood related people who belong to a lineage of *ha'a* under the ruler of a *Tu'i*.

Kali fanafana – justly abiding and morally performed persons along the ethos of *Kaliloa* – advices of the father and mother.

Kali hahapo – unjustly disobeying the *Tala* - ethos of the *Kaliloa*- the instructions from the father and mother.

Kaliloa – the head rest which points to the stretched arm of the mother or father at bed for their children – story time.

Kape – *Alocasia macrorrhiza* sp. Giant taro. The only edible plant which Fevanga and Fefafa planted on the beach of 'Eueiki, and while Tu'i Tonga landed there, he enjoyed the shadow of its leaves, hence forced the couple to slaughter their daughter Kava as sacrifice to him (Lo'au) for there was nothing else to offer in honour of his visit?

Kauala – catafalque used to carry a dead corpse at funeral.

Kauhala'uta – the domain of the *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga* at *Mu'a*, eastern *Tongatapu*; the collective terms applied to the Tu'i Tonga line and their descendants, protocol and cultural way of performing culture to accord ancient Tongan Tala-Tukufakaholo rituals.

Kauhalalalo – domain of the *Ha'a Tu'i Takalaua* at eastern *Tongatapu* from where the *ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu* descended.

Kava – *Piper methysticum* sp. of Piperaceae family, the fibrous plants that is pounded green or dried and mixed with water ready for ritual drinking in cultural ceremonies.

Mataika – name of a village in Vava'u, Tonga.

Ma'u kava - the plant *piper methysticum*; or a piece of, or the drink made therefrom; a piece of root from which the drink is to be made is taken and presented as a token of respect and acknowledgement of a presence of a person or kainga in a meeting or audience of social significance.

Koka – *Bischofia javanica* sp. Plant located at Bangai Lahi, Hihifo, where the installation of *Tu'i Kanokupolu* was held. The sap from the bark of the plant is used for dyeing tapa-ngatu.

Koli – *Syzygium neurocalyx* sp. Plants with fragrant fruits are worn pendant-like on a performer.

Kui - grandparents – maternal or paternal parents of parent.

Kumuni – an individual humble experience associated an exceeding perseverance of a pain or a joy within one's heart.

Langi – royal burial place for the *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga*; the sky, in spiritual level - the heavens.

Lau Matanga – enumerating the associated *Tala* of historic places in Tonga.

Loto – the hearts and experiences, perceptions grafted onto one's being and soul.

Lotu – worship or religion, i.e. *Laulau* – chanting a prayer in search to honour God.; search for food in the jungle. The searching for food in the bush was known as *Lotu kai*.

Lolotu – awe experience of the worshipper to the object of its worship. The pig's instinct in action of defending oneself against another.

Luluki - the root of the kava plant.

Ma'a - wife of a woman's brother.

Ma'itaki – principal wife of the *Tu'i Tonga*. The principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga was to be supplied from *Ha'a Takalaua* (Fijian influenced line), thus was the cultural logic way of instituting another *Ha'a Tu'i* beside the original *Ha'a Tu'i Tonga*.

Maile – *Alyxia stellata* sp. The scent shrub used for making *lei* garland.

Mamani – the universal world, the globe.

Mana – the sacred power associated a Tu'i, 'eiki, Taula, object or a thing.

Mata'umu'umu – from seaward journey; the second point of sea-scape - the reefs.

Matafuefue – the first point of sea-scape from on land - the meeting point of the land and the sea on shore.

Matapule - husband of a man's sister; **Matapule** – politically a spokesperson of a Tu'i or an 'eiki.

Mehikitanga - paternal aunt

Mo'ui - life, alive, living, well-being.

Moana – the mid-ocean of the Tonga deep. Symbolic usage to depict an exclamation from the navigator, *ko e moa 'ena* – the last point of sea-scape, the most turbulent point of the Tonga deep or mid-earth in Oceania; equator – the meeting point of all currents. Symbolically used in this thesis as the point where all contentions from various contingents are interacting.

Moheofo – the principal wife of Tu'i Kanokupolu; a lady from Kanokupolu lineage espoused to Tu'i Tonga for an offspring and whose progeny will be known as the *sina'e 'eiki*. Likewise for the

institution of Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu (Samoan influenced); the way of ensnaring the *toto'i 'eiki* by offering a lady of one lineage to cohabit with the *Tu'i Tonga* for an off spring.

Mokopuna – grandchild.

Mu'a vai – the third point of sea-scape marked by the warm sea-water from on shore.

Mui vai – the fourth point of sea-scape marked by the cold salty water from the deep.

Ngatai – Ocean and the sea creatures thereof.

Nima mea'a – artistic and craftsmanship.

Niu – *Cocos nucifera* sp. A coconut plant, or its fruit.

Nonofo 'a kainga – cohabited Tongan communal setting which is also the framework of viewing social realities.

Nonu – *Morinda citrifolia* sp. A medicinal plant.

Olotaha – a woman whose first-born baby is with the *Tu'i Tonga*.

Oloua – a woman who has given birth to her second baby with the *Tu'i Tonga* indicates a special love of the *Tu'i* to that particular lady.

Ongo - senses, tune.

Oralectic – oral dialectic *Ta-langa* – ‘cut and build’ a verbal dialogue in which Tala is dialectically presented to *Ta* - cut an encounter and build *langa* – begin a new conversation. It is an orally symbolic way of allowing the Tala to create a discussion within the hearts and minds of a person, community and a people. This symbolic way situated the Tala in the context of a dead-living community that dwells upon a raft which drift freely upon the waves of time and the sea of Oceania. Oralectic dwells along the line of argument of “dialectic” [Aristotle’s and Greek] and “tidalectic” [Reckin from Brathwaite]) to mean an oral dialogue in *beliaki* – using a metaphoric form of argument. In *beliaki* a dialogue is begun by a narrative in analogical form to embrace the truth of the reality concerned, to which the conversant responds verbally with another narrative where the truth of the recipient reply to the suggested theme is metaphorically encapsulated. Thus is the curved line referred to in this thesis work. The dialogue continues to a point where not only the two parties are satisfied, but the audience’s spirits are uplifted and they feel well informed of the truth of that social reality. Oralectic in another level is embodiment of blood through cohabitation to issue a progeny which will embody the hybridized blood seeing further re-generations.

Ovava – *Ficus prolixa* sp. A banyan tree.

Pako – *Cyperus Stoloniferus* sp. Sedge plants; its fragrant tubers are mixed

Pakopako'i – making the net.

Paongo – *Pandanus whitmeeanus* sp. A pandanus plant; its leaves are used for weaving mats.

Pua – *Allamanda cathartica* sp. A shrub; flowers are used for making *lei* garland.

Si – *Cordyline fruticosa* sp. The ornamental plants whose colourful leaves are used for making *sisi* and *kahoa* the string around the neck for their pleasing aroma. The juice from its bark is used as medicine for constipation. The roots, when baked for hours, its sap produces an extremely sugary flavour. This plant was used for food by the *Kau Fakaongo* who voluntary exiled themselves from the political turmoil exercised in Lofanga island by Baker’s regime in 1885-1887. They exiled to the uninhabited volcanic island of Kao in Ha'apai islands and settled there for some time.

Ta'efieauna - unwilling to be vanquished, one of the cardinal virtues of the Tongan ethos.

Ta'okete - eldest brother or sister.

Tala – Words - the enjoined Voice of God the creator of the heavens and the earth; the words, stories, narratives believed to have originated from a supernatural passed down to ancestors through prophets through to generations and generations. The actual passing on of a function/message from the head of kainga to associated members.

Ta-langa – ‘cut and build’ a verbal dialogue of cut and build in which a *Tala* is dialectically presented to *langa* – begin or create a conversation, followed by a discussion and a re-creation of a social reality.

Tala-'a-kainga – the enjoined voice of the supernatural being passed down through the kainga line; the memorized genealogies of *kainga*, the closely connected blood relationships along familial line.

Tala'otua – *lotu*, story of and about god, the enjoined voice of God in the words as *corpus logus*.

Talaefonua – the enjoined or the manifested voice of God on the land. The ethnology, theological story associated with the people, land, ocean and space.

Talanoa – (ontology), the words of and about an encounter with the supernatural God. (epistemology) The re-claiming of the values of *noa* – the meeting point of an encounter. In religion, the *noa* – is *Lotu* - the meeting point of the worshipper and god; and in my usage in colonization problem, *tala-noa* refers to the reclaiming the values of the point of encounter between the 'colonizer' and the 'colonized'; an individual discourse and dialogue of an individual with one's self and beyond.

Talatalaifale – Tongan ethos which enjoined the customarily norms and morality; Tongan ethos and house rule of *kainga* believed to have been inherited from the past.

Tala-Tukufakaholo – ontology-in tangible real term – refers to *Tongan* 'chronicle that was not written in papers but was passed down from mouth to ears, by fathers and mothers to their children'. The 'unique cultural heritage and tradition'; story associated the whole society of human, land & sea-scapes, cultural heritage, objects of material culture in context is conceptualized and re-presented as complementation to issue facts where pockets of the documented historiography is lacking; and as oral sources supplementations in areas of the outsider's analysis where deficiency may occur.

Tala-Tukufakaholo – intangible abstract term - the enjoined voice of God in oral form, organically aggregated over time valuably inherited by Tongan people in their cultural interactions. As a method - from my Grafting viewpoint is an undisciplined oral way of designing, engraving, writing and disembarking of ancestral knowledge emanating from their life struggles and operations passing on to future generations as the Tongan traditional way of narrating past life stories. As an organic body it drifts on its pace, spirit and logic of journey, uncontrolled by any guided agenda or experimental structure so to speak. It may appear as a cutting edge method. However, it drifts in its own spiral frequency, with the current of thoughts in a dialogical open way enhancing a way of life. There is a dialogue of association with the pasts, the spirit of the ancestors, the remembered past known as orality and with the consciousness of the people, with the survived material culture, with the genealogies, and the survived landscapes and sea-capes/sea-routes. These are all taken place as a visual mind mapping within the writers mind when engaging *Tala-Tukufakaholo*. Applying the Law of Association to reading *Tala-Tukufakaholo* in my 3-H cycles (H/crafting, H/graphing and H/grafting) of Historiographical development is my own devise. However, I borrow the "undisciplined method of acquiring knowledge" for my writing from the Late Professor Ron Crocombe of USP. Crocombe encouraged the Pacific islanders and their way of perceiving knowledge as "undisciplined". I owe him this term "undisciplined" way of acquiring knowledge which helped my grafting of "*Tala-Tukufakaholo* method"; *Talatukufakaholo* – oral traditional narratives and Tongan historiography.

Tala-Tukufakaholo in Pacific context - the suggested Oralectic methodology as alter-native to Western worldview where in Fijian – *Tukutuku* ; Samoa - *Talatu'u fa'a solo* ; America Samoa - *Talatua mu'a*; French Polynesia - *Historie*; English – History; indo-Fijian- *Histri*; Tuvalu - *Kadadinggowe*; Papua and New Guinea: *Stori bilong bifo* (Pidgin), Solomon - *Taini bifo*; Kiribati - *Karaki ni Kawai*; and Maori – *Karakia*.

Talatupu'a – cosmology of the three-decked world of *langi*, *fonua* and *lolo fonua*.

Talo – *Colocasia esculenta* sp. A starchy corm and tubers; common Tongan staple family food.

Tama - a child, son or daughter.

Tamai – biological father and his brothers to a son or daughter.

Tapu – related to the supernatural; sacred, prohibitions; the one and only Tongan term adapted in the English dictionary. The person who possesses the *toto'i* 'eiki, is revered as such, a sacred

person, or that *toto'i 'eiki* is the supernatural quality which may be related to the Christian terms holy, spiritual and or an accursed placed upon an item, place or thing.

Taufakalelemoa – the nature of *Taulangovaka* civil war was like chasing a fowl to slaughter.

Taulangovaka – the 1799 civil war, and was also known *Taufakalelemoa*.

Tehina - younger brother or sister

To – *Sacharum* sp. of Gramineae family sugarcane plant or part of it edible stem.

Tohu'ia - the daughter of 'Amalele of *Safata*, Samoa, mother of Gata the first Tu'i Kanokupolu.

Tokanga – farming activities performed by people on the land.

Tokoua - man to a brother/lady to a sister.

Toledoth – (Heb.) *bako* - generations of heavens and earth.c.f. Gen.2.4.

Tonga – the name of the island and context under study.

Toto'i 'eiki – sacred or supernatural blood that determined the 'eiki of a person. These realities had regulated the Tongan culture from of old and dictate a person's position in the whole Tongan cultural hierarchy.

Toutai – fishing

Tu – Polynesian term for god but when vowel *an* added it connotes pluralistic form of Tongan Pantheon of the *Kau Tangaloa*, *Hikule'o* and the *Kau Maui* respectively.

Tu 'i – god in place.

Tu 'a – 'of god'; a class of people in Tongan society known as *kainangaefonua*, they belong to the realm of the *Tu* – god of Tonga; the class of the society that relates life to the land-based values, differently from the Tu'i class who relate life to the sky-related values.

Tu'asina - maternal uncle.

Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua - head of clan of *Ha'a Takalaua*, the personal embodiment of *Tu* in Takalaua domain and lineage.

Tu'i Ha'apai – head of the island polity of Ha'apai as personal embodiment of *Tu* in Ha'apai..

Tu'i Kanokupolu – head of clan of *Kanokupolu*, the personal embodiment of *Tu* in *Kanokupolu*.

Tu'i Tonga – head of Tonga island polity and governance, the personal embodiment of *Tu* in *Tonga*. Tu-'i-Tonga – god in[carnated] on the land of Tonga; the lineage descended from 'Aho'eitu with 39 successive title holders (950 -1865AD.)

Tu'i Vava'u – the head of island polity; personal embodiment of *Tu* in Vava'u.

Tufunga – the art and crafts of the Tu - god.

Tuku – embodied, incarnate, placed upon, crafted, graphed, grafted of thoughts, placed information or knowledge upon another object.

Tukufonua ki Langi – refers to the event of the dedication of the land, people and all to the Living God at Neiafu, Vava'u, in 1839. The event symbolized the transformation of Tongan tradition and culture by Christian principles led by the Wesleyan missionary The Rev'd. John Thomas. Together with 'Taufa'ahau and four other members of the government of Vava'u (symbolic of Pou – ono six posts) the minister Thomas raised a handful of fonua – soil placed upon the Bible and to the sky and uttered a prayer of dedication.

Tuonga'ane - brother of a woman.

Vahamohe – the sixth point of sea-scape; the still part of the sea immediate to the turbulent centre point where the currents meet in Oceania.

Vahanoa – the fifth point of sea-scape encircled waves on open space of the wide Ocean.

Vaka Viti - Fijian way in terms of the sacredness of their *Vanua*-land culture

Vilitute – *Ulungaanga* - cardinal virtue.

Figure 2. The Tongan Indigenous Civilization:

The following figures provide records of indigenous practises of the people at the time that demonstrate the arts and crafts forms of the known ancestors of Tonga Mostly taken of HM. Queen Salote's *Writings*.

Figure 2.1. Tongan Numeracy.

For numeracy, the Tongan language held special art of reading numbers in doubles. List follows takes the counting of coconuts in double for example.

- 1 – *matelau* – a single coconut or object.
- 2 – *taba nga'ahoa* – one double coconut.
- 4 – *ua nga'ahoa* – two double.
- 6 – *tolu nga'ahoa* – three double.
- 8 – *fa nga'ahoa* – four double.
- 10 – *nima nga'ahoa* – five double.
- 12 – *ono nga'ahoa* – six double.
- 14 – *fitu nga'ahoa* – seven double.
- 16 – *valu nga'ahoa* – eight double.
- 18 – *hiva nga'ahoa* – nine double.
- 20 – *kauniu 'e 1* – one ten double.

This art of double (pair) reading was the Tongan standard of numerical counting and was applied to almost all objects counts. A *nga'ahoa*-pair was always seen as symbols of blessing, whereas a single number was a sign of loneliness and troublesome. One of the Tu'i Tongan sport was *ben lupe*-pigeon snaring for example, the double counting of *lupe*-pigeons was known as *boa na ua* (4 pigeons) or *boa na fa*, (8). A group of *Lupe* - pigeon was known as the *fuifui lupe*-group of birds as they journeyed together in pairs. Any *Lupe* was travelling alone, he or she is a widow, upon which the statement *fuifuitaubala* – a trouble maker widow is associating the group of pigeons, was pronounced. It is called as such because the widow makes trouble along the way to a pair.

Figure 2.2. The Sports: Ngaahi Faiva (sipoti) FakaTonga.⁵⁸⁵

- Tolo* – [throwing – test of energy and human power].
- Toutakao* – [chasing game]
- Fangatua* – [wrestling]
- Fetaiaki* – [weaving one's body with another body]]
- Lova* – [racing]
- Lafo* – [mat-bowling]
- Velo* – [harpooning contest]
- Tuhu* (?) – [thumbing]
- Moli*(?) – [hiding]
- Sika* - [throwing javelin]
- Siukakau* – [swimming]
- Siu'a'alo* – [rowing race]
- Liku* – [beauty contest]
- Fanifo* – [surfing]
- Hiko* (*fefine*) – [juggling]
- Fisi* (*fafine*) – [knuckling]
- Pele* (*tamaiki*) – [hands clapping game]
- Fenuki* ** - [another version of wrestling]
- Fakamapi* ** -[ladies beauty contest based on bodily perfection]]

⁵⁸⁵ I am indebted to the Tongan Catholic scholar Emanuele Paku Tausinga for translation of Tongan terms in these pages of Appendices. Talanoa, 28 October, 2014, Darwin, Australia.

Fakapato ** - [ladies beauty contest]
Soisoilotutalo ** - []
Uakilo ** - [riddle contest between two persons]
Langatoi ** - [hide and seek]
*Lautele (fai fakatokolahi)*⁵⁸⁶ – [group melodic dancing and joyfulness]

Figure 2.3.. The Performing Arts and the art of dancing:

Tongan performance presents a whole story; a salutation, introduction a body and a conclusion. The Tongan *nonofo* 'a *kainga* performed the following *faiva* dances as from Queen Salote's Papers,

Ko e Ngaahi Faiva FakaTonga (Haka): Tongan Dances.

Po Me'e – [women's performance]
Po He'a – [women's snapping fingers competition]
Po Hiva – [men and women harmony]
Me'etu'upaki (tangata) – [prayer performed by men to Kolulu and Latu, the gods of the winds]
Me'elaufola (Fefine) – [performed by women for entertainment]
Otubaka (Fefine) – [sitting dance performed by women]
Faha'iula (Fefine) – [standing performance by women alone]
Ula (Fefine) – [single performance by lady]
Kailao (tangata) – [war dance performed by men]
Po sipi (I he So) – [rhythmic poetic and lyrical courtship – man exchange of poems and lyrical songs with a lady to attract love for each other]
Sipitau – [war or battle chant]
Faha'ihiva - [two rows of nine men standing in line to beat a running warrior to test ones strength for war]
Tau'a'alo – [men's performance in warlike nature]
Sipi – [a lyric song composed to deliver a propose to a lady.]
*Upe.*⁵⁸⁷ - [lullaby]

On the same document quoted above, the Queen noted this statement *Lakalalaka ki mui 'aupito* – lakalaka was introduced to Tonga lately as a way of counting numerical numbers. Though Lakalaka was a late formation of faiva by Tongan poets and artist, it had been the first national cultural heritage dance recorded as legacy of Tonga.⁵⁸⁸

Figure 5. The art of Faiva: from Queen Salote Papers.

Faiva faka Tonga is a demonstration of narrated poetic story through co-ordinated performances of hand gestures, body and heads movements. Loyalty is priority in all movements, thus each haka in faiva has its own meaning. There are parts of the narrative which demand the use of body or hands movements to resemble loyalty of presentation. Following are some of them:

Ko e Ngaahi Tefito'i Fatu'anga Haka: The main hand gestures, body and heads movements.
Ko e Ha'o ta – [two hands are twisted to symbolize the flower of heilala as metaphor for the person 'Tu'i Tonga hyphenated by a *teki* sharp head movement from side to side]
Ko e Tene (kuku mo mafola) – [the sccop-like or open hand like gesture]

⁵⁸⁶ Queen Salote Papers, *Ko e Ngaahi Faiva FakaTonga (Sipoti)*,

⁵⁸⁷ Queen Salote Papers, *Ko e Ngaahi Faiva FakaTonga (Haka)*.

⁵⁸⁸ Taufe'ulungaki, "Keynote Address by the Minister for Education, Women Affairs and Culture."

Ko e Tui – [two hands are moved in a way as if one is piercing a flower unto a string to make a garland.]
Ko e Toli – [two hands are rhythmically moved as if one is picking flowers from the tree]
Ko e Fola – [spreading out the hands to symbolize exhibition of a gift]
Ko e Vabe – [hands symbolizing a division of goods for distribution]
Ko e Tafi – [hands movement to literally symbolize sweeping]
Ko e Ofa (na'e ui ko e lota). – [arms movement to indicate a measurement of a fathom, but placed in a forty-five degree direction]
Ko e 'oatu – [hands movement symbolizes a giving away of a gift]
Fu mo e pasi. – [hands are clubbed to produce a bass sound and a clap to give a lighter tenor sound]

Figure 6. The art of Vocal Singing:

Queen Salote also documented the art of harmonizing a sound in five to produce a peculiarly Tongan harmonic melody as;

Ngaahi Faha'i he Hiva FakaTonga:

Fasi	-	[leading voice]
Lalau	-	[euphony]
'Ekenaki	-	[tenor]
Kanokano	-	[alto]
Laulalo	-	[bass] ⁵⁸⁹

Figure 7. Some instruments used to keep the rhythm:

Fala – [a woven mat was used as a drum beat for time keeping (tempo) for singing].
pitu-and *kofo* [bamboo wood beat on the ground to produce a musical sound for singing].
Fangufangu- [a bamboo musical instrument blown by the nose; peculiarly as Tongan art and craft].
Mimiha- [a musical instrument made of coconut leaves blown by the mouth].
Lali-[wooden drum made from tree trunk].
Nafa- [drum made of animal skin covered a piece of tin' and were used for timing and rhythm on *faiva*.]
Kele'a – [conch-shell blown to make a brass-like melodic sound]

Figure 8. Takalaua's children were appointed governors of Tonga:

The assassinated 23rd Tu'i Tonga Takalaua, (Va'elaveamata of the 15th century) children were appointed governors of Tonga by the eldest son Kau'ulufonua Fekai;

- 1) Kau'ulufonua Fekai, 24th Tu'i Tonga (*s/o* Va'elaveamata).
- 2) Mo'ungamotu'a, 1st Tu'i Ha'atakalua (*s/o* Va'elaveamata) - Tonga (Tu'i Ha'atakalua).
- 3) Latutoevave (*s/o* Va'elaveamata).
- 4) Lotauai (*s/o* Va'elaveamata).
- 5) Takalaua. Governor of 'Eua.
- 6) Haveatuli. Governor of Vava'u (Mataika).
- 7) Niutongo. Governor of Vava'u ('Utungake).
- 8) Kolomoe'e 'Otu. Governor of Ha'apai ()

⁵⁸⁹ Queen Salote Papers, Ngaahi Faha'i pe Hiva FakaTonga.

- 9) Mata'uvave. Governor of Ha'apai ().
- 10) Talapalo. Governor of Niuatoputapu.
- 11) Malala. Governor of Niu'afu'ou ().
- 12) Hakavala. Governor of Niu'afu'ou ().
- 13) Elili. Governor of 'Uvea.⁵⁹⁰

Figure 3.1 The 'OTULANGI: The royal tombs of the Tu'i Tonga.⁵⁹¹

Human wisdom is evident in their arts and architectural crafting of royal tombs that have survived to the present. The following are royal tombs that have survived the test of time to remain as legacies of the original Ha'a Tu'i Tonga that settled in Tonga the Tapu Land. Apart from the archaeological excavations made by the Canadian Professor David Burley and his team in Tonga,⁵⁹² no thorough study had been made to relate these stone works to the place of origin of the Tongans (Polynesia). The langi are named with their probable places of locations.

This photo is one of Langi at Lapaha.



⁵⁹³

Names of the Langi	Place they may be located.
Langi Mala'e'atuli	tombs of the first six Tu'i Tonga at Pelehake
Langileka –	royal tomb of the Tamaha at Tungua
Tamatou -	grave of the Tu'i Tonga-Tou (wood) was at Langi

⁵⁹⁰ I have borrowed this list from online. Note I have edited some names which I believe to have been a mis-typing error. Source: <http://www.royalark.net/Tonga/tuitong.htm> (accessed 29.10.2013)

⁵⁹¹ I am indebted to Fifita Sili Makalangahiva of Lapaha, who provided the major part of the informations about the 'Otu Langi 'o Mu'a that is used in this thesis work. It was from Sili information that a sketch of the otu Langi at Lapaha was made by outside researchers and was first published on the Eva news paper in Nuku'alofa, Tonga.

⁵⁹² See also Burley's work on Burley, "Sacred Child and Sacred Place: On the Intersection of Myth, Narrative, Genealogy and Landscape for the Study of Dynastic Tongan History."

⁵⁹³ I have borrowed this photo of the 'otulangi with acknowledgement of this source: <https://encrypted-tbn2.gstatic.com/images> (accessed 07/03/2015).

	Ha'aloto, Nukuleka
Mo'ungalafa -	tomb at 'Utulongoa'a.
Heketa -	tomb at 'Utulongoa'a.
Tafa ua -	the following langi were located at Lapaha Mu'a
Langitu'ofefafa	Lapaha
Langitu'oteau	Lapaha
Langi Lili	Lapaha
Langi 'Tau'atonga	Lapaha
Langi Katoa	Lapaha
Langi Malu'atonga	Lapaha
Langi Tongamanatu	Lapaha
Langi Tauhala	Lapaha
Langi 'Ta'etaea	Lapaha
Fanakavakilangi	Lapaha
Lotunofu.	Lapaha [known as 'esi 'o Sinaitakala].
Longolongafehi	Lapaha
Faleto'onga	Lapaha
Na['a]mo-ala	Lapaha
Nakulukilangi	Lapaha
Nahakalau	Lapaha
Makamaka	[royal tomb in Fua'amotu village, Tongatapu]
Olomaloa'a	[Vakatalata, Talasiu, Lapaha by Makalangahiva].
Folokomanu	(royal tomb in Mataliku, Tongatapu)
Olomanu	[unknown]
Matanoa	(Talangaholo)
Fangaloto	(Navai, [Folaha])
Fekitetele	[royal tomb in Feletoa? [Mataika], Vava'u]
Ko Langi 'o Tele'a -	buried in Manu'a, Samoa.
Makahokovalu	[royal tomb in 'Uiha, Ha'apai]
Lotolangi	(royal tomb of Liufau ⁵⁹⁴ in Ha'ano, Ha'apai). ⁵⁹⁵

From the above list, it indicates there were places in Tonga where Tu'i Tonga are believed to have resided. The *Langi Makamaka* indicates a Tu'i Tonga residence in *Fua'amotu* village, Tongatapu whereas *Langi Folokomanu* evidences another royal residence in *Mataliku* village in Tongatapu. *Langi Matanoa* indicates a royal residence in *Talangaholo*, Tongatapu, and *Langi Fangaloto* signifies a residence in Navai, Folaha, Tongatapu. *Langi Fekitetele* indicates the time when the thirty-sixth *Tu'i Tonga Pau* and *Tupou Mohefo* and their son *Fatafehi Fuanunuiava* who succeeded them, ruled and lived in Mataika, Vava'u. Their burial ground is the place where I grew up at Fekitetele, Matapa ko

⁵⁹⁴ This Liufau was the son of *Fatafehi o Lapaha* (daughter of Tu'i Tonga), and *Tu'i Ha'angana Fifita Puku*, who was also a great grandson of Tu'i Tonga *Tatafu'eikimeimu'a*. Source: *Pulumu Fonua*, 52, interviewed by *Ula Matatoa*, dated 1 Feb., 1962. Tonga Dept. of Edu. Manuscript.

⁵⁹⁵ Queen Salote Papers, 'Otolangi.

Fatungakoa, near the Kolotau ko Feletoa, Vava'u.⁵⁹⁶ *Langi Makabokovalu* signifies the royal residence in 'Uiha, island in Ha'apai and *Langi Lotolangi* is the burial place of Liufau at Ha'ano, Ha'apai island.

The Prince Tu'i Pelehake *'Uluvalu Takeivulai Tuku'abo* who died together with his wife Princess *Kaimana Aleamotu'a Tuku'abo* in a road accident in California, United States of America in 2006 were both buried at *Langi Na[a]mo-ala*, in Lapaha. The burial Ha'a Tufunga protocol was led by Makalangahiva of Lapaha.

In addition to the above list, Makalangahiva of Lapaha tradition, added that these were missing from Queen Salote's list of *Langi* as follows,

1. *Langi Paepae o Tele'a* – built by Tu'i Tonga Fatafehi in memory of his Father Tu'i Tonga Tele'a who, after the accidental killing of his wife Talafaiva, the princess from Manu'a, Samoa, went to beg the pardon of Talafaiva's parent, lived and later died and was buried in Manu'a, Samoa.
2. *Langi Sinai*
3. *Langi Fa'apite*
4. *Langi Nukulau 1.*
5. *Langi Nukulau 2.*
6. *Langi Fo'ou (Langi 'o Luani)*
7. *Langi ko 'Esi'aikona*
8. *Langi ko Hebea*

Lapaha tradition also added to the above the *Fale 'o Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua* which consist of the *Vaenga 'e Fa 'o Kauhala'uta* – the four houses of Kauhala'uta at Lo'aamanu, Lapaha, were as follows,

1. *Fale Pule Malo.*
2. *Fale Fakauoo*
3. *Fale Tuingapapai*
4. *Lolo'amanu (Taubakeleva).*⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹⁶ This *Langi* is now located at the allotment of Fekitetele, Mataika, which is owned by Haveatuli Tevita Latu, the father of the author of this work who was born and raised to adolescence there.

⁵⁹⁷ This burial place of the 4 *Fale* of the Ha'a Takalaua can still be seen today at Lapaha, Mu'a, Tongatapu in Tonga.

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